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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TRANSKEI AND CISKEI

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SYNOPSIS

This paper outlines the evidence given in Portuguese records on Nguni-speaking people who were living in the coastal districts of the Transkei and Ciskei in the 16th and 17th centuries, and discusses the traditions which indicate that Thembu, Xhosa, and Pondomise were on the upper reaches of the Mzimvubu for an indefinite time before they came down to the coast.

Various statements have been published recently about when the Bantu-speaking people first occupied South Africa[1] but the evidence on which these are based has not been given. This paper is concerned with what is in fact known of the early history of one area, the Transkei and Ciskei. Our knowledge comes from three sources: (1) written records, mostly the accounts of survivors from ships wrecked along the coast; (2) oral traditions; and (3) archaeological sites.

During the 16th century there were three wrecks along the Transkeian coast whose survivors left some account of the people they met, and during the 17th century there were further wrecks from which survivors spent several years living with Xhosa people before being rescued.

In June, 1552, the São João went ashore in what is now Pondoland, a little way north of the Mzimvubu river, and the survivors travelled northward, reaching Delagoa Bay in October. At the place of the wreck they were visited by 'seven or eight Kaffirs . . . leading a cow' which they were about to barter for nails, when five other men appeared and shouted to the first party not to sell the cow. They kept close to the shore and though they fought several skirmishes in which 'the Kaffirs were always worsted', they reported no settlements except one group of deserted huts, until they came near Lourenço Marques, where a chief 'Inhaca', who was trading with the Portuguese, sheltered and fed them.

They 'went back six leagues on the road they had come' to help Inhaca defeat a 'rebellious Kaffir' and seize his cattle, so apparently they had overlooked some of the settlements they had passed.[2] 'Inhaca' has been identified by the Rev. H. A. Junod as Nyaka, whose descendants live where he lived and still use his name in greeting one

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[1] e.g. The Hon. Mr Eric Louw is reported to have said when opening the 10th Annual Congress of S.A.B.R.A. that the "Bantu began to trek from the North across the Limpopo when Van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay" ("... die Bantoe uit die Noorde oor die Limpopo begin trek het toe Van Riebeeck in Tafelbaai aan land gestap het.') *Die Burger*, April 1st, 1959, p. 8.

[2] G. M. Theal, *Records of South East Africa*, vol. I, pp. 108-49.

another.[1] Already, by 1552, a ship from Sofala was expected annually at Lourenço Marques to buy ivory.

In April, 1554, the São Bento was wrecked west of the 'River Infante'. From the latitudes and distances given in various journals, the Infante has been identified as the Kasuka, the Kowie, the Great Fish, the Keiskamma, or the Buffalo,[2] but Theal thought that the men of the São Bento had mistaken the Mtata for the Infante[3] because they mention crossing only one large river before reaching the Mzimvubu. Certainly the wreck was somewhere between the Kasuka and the Mtata. Before leaving it the survivors saw 'seven or eight Kaffirs . . . very black in colour, with woolly hair, and went naked'. Later they saw 'about a hundred' with 'many wooden pikes with their points hardened in the fire . . . and some assegais with iron points', who spoke 'a language not so badly pronounced as we always heard and was customary on that coast'. And they came to a village of 'about twenty huts built with poles and thatched with dry grass, in form and size like a baker's oven, such as is usual among all the people of this coast. They move them from place to place with the seasons, according to the abundance or barrenness of the ground, upon the wild fruit of which they principally subsist'. A large and well-provided village was reported to be close by. Though they were 'constantly followed by Kaffirs' the first food bartered was after 22 days' travelling, probably on the Mzimkulu. There they got 'cakes of a seed called nacharre' and later a cow and a goat, in exchange for iron, and they learnt from a Bengali, who had been shipwrecked earlier, that 'the country was thickly populated and provided with cattle'. A little further on they stole a large basket of millet, the first they had seen, and thence they were well provided with food until they reached Lourenço Marques. They also met various survivors from the previous wreck who were living with the people of the country and refused to come on with them.[4]

The Santo Thomé was wrecked in 1589 on the Tongaland coast north of the area with which we are concerned, but the chronicler who wrote of their journey has one comment on the political structure of the people to the south, which is of great interest. He says: 'All this land of Fumos (Tongaland) is under the king called Viragune,' south of it is 'another land called Mokalapapa,' which 'joins another kingdom, that of Vambe, which runs south, where our people also carry on a trade in ivory. From this kingdom, which includes a great part of the land called Natal, to the Cape of Good Hope 'there are no other kings, but all is in the possession of chiefs called Inkosis, who are the heads and governors of three, four, or five villages.'[5]

Four years later, in March, 1593, the Sant Alberto was wrecked three days west of the Infante, at a place the inhabitants called Tizombe and the Portuguese 'Penedo das Fontes'. This name was used for the promontory to the west of Bushman's river mouth on which Diaz built his last Padrão[6] but no mention is made in the journal of the Padrão or of crossing a river close to the wreck, and Theal thought, from the latitude and details given of the country, that the Mtata was again mistaken for the Infante and that the place was 'Hole-in-the-Wall' near the Bashee.[7] The survivors were greeted by a chief, Luspance, 'with about 60 negroes'. 'He was of good stature, well made, of a cheerful countenance, and

[1] H. A. Junod, 'The Condition of the Natives of South-East Africa in the Sixteenth Century according to the early Portuguese Documents', *Report of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, Lourenco Marques, 1913, pp. 137-61.
[2] E. Axelson, *South East Africa*, 1488-1530. London, 1940, pp. 169-71. One unmistakable landmark on this coast is the Padrão set up by Diaz on a headland 3½ miles west of the Bushman's River mouth. (Axelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-81.)
[3] Theal, *Records*, vol. II, p. xii.
[4] Theal, *Records*, vol. I, pp. 150-285.
[5] Theal, *Records*, vol. II, p. 199.
[6] Axelson, *op cit.*, p. 174.
[7] Theal, *Records*, vol. II, p. xxvi; pp. 293-4.

not very black. He had a short beard, and long moustaches.' In the Portuguese party was a slave who 'understood the language of these Kaffirs and spoke also that of Mozambique' and another who understood both the latter language and Portuguese, so by means of two interpreters communication was established. The journalist reports that:

'The dress of these Kaffirs is a mantle of ox-hide, with the hair outwards, which they rub with grease to make it soft. They are shod with two or three soles of raw leather fastened together in a round shape, and secured to the feet with straps; in these they run with great lightness. In their hands they carry the tail of an ape or a fox fastened to a thin piece of wood, with which they clean themselves and shade their eyes when observing. This dress is used by almost all the negroes of Kaffraria, and their kings and chiefs wear, hanging to the left ear, a copper ornament made after their own fashion.

These and all other Kaffirs are herdsmen and cultivators of the ground, by which means they subsist. They cultivate millet, which is white and the size of a peppercorn; it is the fruit of a plant of the size and appearance of a reed. Of this millet, ground between two stones or in wooden mortars, they make flour, and of this they make cakes, which they cook among embers. Of the same grain they make wine, mixing it with a quantity of water which, when it has fermented in a vessel of clay and has cooled and turned sour, they drink with great enjoyment.

Their cattle are very fat, tender, well-flavoured, and large, the pastures being very rich. Most of them are hornless, and the greater number are cows, in the abundance of which their riches consist. They use milk and the butter which they make from it.

They live in small villages, in huts made of reed mats, which do not keep out the rain. These huts are round and low, and if any person dies in one of them, the others take it down with all the rest of the village, and remove to another spot, thinking that in a place where their neighbour or relation died everything will be unlucky. And so, to save this trouble, if anyone is ill they carry him into the thicket that if he is to die it may be out of the houses. They surround the huts with a hedge, within which they keep the cattle. . . .

. . . Most of the inhabitants of this land, from latitude 29° and downwards, are circumcised. . . . They obey chiefs whom they call Inkosis.

The language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria, the difference being only like that between the different dialects of Italy and the ordinary dialects of Spain. The people never go far from their villages, and thus they know and hear nothing except what concerns their immediate neighbours. . . .

They value the most necessary metals, as iron and copper, and for very small pieces of either they will barter cattle, which is what they esteem most, and with which they trade, exchanging them for other treasures.'[1]

The greeting that Luspance used, Nanhata, nanhata, was the same as that used north of the Tukela.[2]

The party agreed to travel inland to 'avoid the inevitable hardships of the coast' and, indeed, they suffered much less than the preceding parties. The chief had brought them 'two large sheep of the Ormuz breed' and they bartered two cows and two sheep for copper before starting. They had guides, and instead of travelling along the very broken coastal belt they followed a route where 'the ground was very good and level, . . . abounding with pasture and water'. Two days after crossing the Infante they passed a village with millet standing in the fields, and went on to visit the chief 'travelling over level ground with rich and abundant pasture'. The next day 'they came to

[1] Theal, *Records*, vol. II, pp. 293-4.
[2] Theal, *op cit.*, pp. 292, 333.

a village consisting of a few houses around a kraal, in which there were about a hundred cows and a hundred and twenty very large sheep of the Ormuz breed. Here lived an old man with his sons and grandsons, who with great surprise and joy received our people, and brought them gourds full of milk . . .' The next village belonged to a man, Ubabu, who entertained them with a dance. Then they crossed the Mzimvubu at a cattle ford and met a chief, Vibo, 'accompanied by many others driving some hundred cows' who provided them with two of his sons as guides and two cows for provisions. Between leaving Vibo and arriving at Lourenço Marques they crossed two belts of country without villages and through which they could not get guides, but otherwise they found it thickly populated and were supplied with food all the way. Their one dangerous encounter was a little way south of Lourenço Marques where they were misled and attacked by men whose chief was 'a great thief named Bambe'.[1]) This party was exceptional in that they did not steal provisions or attack anyone, and they were welcomed almost all the way.

In October, 1622, the São João Baptista was wrecked, probably a little way east of the Fish River (lat. 33°), where the survivors met people 'whiter than mulattoes', and though they remained six months they 'could never understand a word these people said, for their speech is not like that of man, and when they want to say anything they make clicks with their mouths at the beginning, middle and end'. They 'brought as a present an ox, very big and fine, and a leather bag of milk'. They lived upon 'shell-fish, certain roots found in the earth, and the produce of the chase', as well as milk and meat from their cattle, and had 'no knowledge of any seed'.

Between them and the next people with cattle lay a 'desert' 'twenty days as the Kaffirs travel, which would be two months at our speed', but they found in it hunters and fishers, and eventually came to a village whose inhabitants could understand some of the slaves in the party. Some way west of the Mtata (where they met a survivor from the 1593 wreck) they procured cattle and grain, and were welcomed by 'the son of the king . . . with a hundred men all well armed with iron assagais, . . . and had with him the most splendid ox we had ever seen, without horns, and he made the captain a present of it'. Further on they saw 'an infinite number of kraals with herds of cattle and gardens', and 'negroes came out bringing vessels full of milk and cows for sale'. After that they found people all the way to Lourenço Marques, only occasionally passing through belts without villages.[2]

In June, 1635, the Nossa Senhora de Belem went aground between the Mtata and Bashee (lat. 32°) perhaps at the Xora mouth, and the survivors spent six months there building themselves a boat. The people they met spoke Xhosa—they addressed the captain as *Umlungo* and *Umkulu*—and their manner of life was exactly that of two centuries later. The journalist reported that:

> 'The men of this country are very lean and upright, tall of stature, and handsome. They can endure great labour, hunger, and cold; they live two hundred years and even more in good health, and with all their teeth. They are so light that they can run over the rugged mountains as fleetly as stags. They are clothed in skins which hang over their shoulders to the knees; these are cow-hides, but they have the art of dressing them till they are as soft as velvet. There are rich and poor among them, but this is according to the number of their cattle. They all carry sticks in their hands about two spans in length, with a tail at the end like the brush of a fox, which serves them as a handkerchief and fan. They use sandals of elephant's hide, which they carry hanging from their hands, and I never saw them on their feet. Their arms are assagais with broad well-fashioned heads. Their shields are of elephant hide with handles

[1] Theal, *Records*, vol. II, pp. 225-346.
[2] Theal, *Records*, vol. VIII, pp. 3-137.

like ours, but made like leathern targets; the richest use others. They all have dogs with ears and tails cropped, with which they hunt wild pigs and stags, as well as buffaloes, elephants, tigers, and lions. . . .

The kings have four, five, and seven wives. The women do all the work, planting and tilling the earth with sticks to prepare it for their grain, which is millet as large or larger than linseed. They have maize also, and plant large melons which are very good, and beans and gourds of many kinds, also sugar canes, though they brought us very few of these. Cows are what they chiefly value: these are very fine and the tamest cattle I have ever seen in any country. In the milk season they live chiefly upon it, making curds and turning it sour, which was little to our taste. They also eat a certain root which resembles spurge laurel, and they say it is very strengthening. There are others yielding a fine seed, which also grows under ground. They eat this with great enjoyment, and also the gum from the trees . . .

The women bring no dowry in marriage, on the contrary the husband pays the bride's father with cattle, and they become as slaves to their husbands; they choose six or seven, and take one into their house every moon without any jealousy whatever arising. Even their ornaments go to the men, and the women wear only skins better or worse according to the position of their husbands. Their ornaments are bracelets on their arms and pendants in their ears, of copper or bone.'[1]

The survivors of the Belem met a man who had been left behind by the 1593 party as a boy, with the chief Luspance, because he was too ill to travel. He 'was now very rich and had three wives and many children.' Through him they were able to buy 219 cattle, many in calf, but they lacked the leadership and discipline of the 1593 party and ended by shooting a chief, as well as several other men.

The survivors of a wreck in 1647 west of the river Infante (which they recorded at latitude 33½°) add little to our knowledge, except that[2] on the Infante they found people whom 'no one could understand because they spoke with clicks'. 'They sow no grain, and live only on roots, the produce of the chase, and some shell-fish when they come down to the shore. Their arms are of fire-hardened wood and a few iron assagais.' This party were able to barter cattle some days west of the river where the Belem was wrecked in 1635, i.e. probably about the Kei, and they used some of those they bought to carry their baggage and to ride.[3]

The most useful evidence in the 17th century comes from the survivors of the Stavenisse, wrecked in February, 1686, 70 miles south of the Bay of Natal (the modern Durban). Forty-seven of the party set off southward to walk to the Cape; others who were ill or wounded remained some time at the wreck then went north to the Bay of Natal where, along with the survivors of other wrecks, they built a small vessel, the Centaurus, which took them safely to the Cape. When they got there none of the 47 who set out to walk from the wreck had arrived, so early in 1688 the Centaurus was sent back along the coast to look for survivors. They rescued 18 of the Stavenisse crew and a Huguenot boy, the sole survivor of another wreck, near the mouth of the Kei. A few months later another search expedition rescued two more of the Stavenisse survivors at the Bay of Natal, and one at the Buffalo. From these men a great deal was learnt about the country between the Buffalo and the Tukela. Some of them had been living with the Xhosa for nearly three years and had learnt to speak the language. The Huguenot boy had lived under the protection of a Xhosa chief, Sotopa, and Togu was then the paramount chief of the tribe. Another Xhosa chief, Magamma, was living on the Buffalo. The people they found along the coast from

[1] Theal, *Records*, vol. VIII, pp. 204-5.
[2] Theal, *op cit.*, pp. 131-234.
[3] *op cit.*, pp. 237-360.

the wreck southward were 'the Temboes, the Mapontemousse, the Maponte, the Matimbas, the Maligryghas . . . and the Magossebe,'[1] (i.e. Mbo? Pondomise, Pondo, Thembu, Riligwa or Hottentots[2] and Xhosa) or, according to another survivor (south to north) 'the Magosse, the Magrigas, the Matimbes, Mapontes, Emboas' (Xhosa, Riligwa, Thembu, Pondo, Mbo).

Further south a party had gone 90 miles inland. The country was reported to be 'extremely fertile and incredibly populous and full of cattle'. The people 'submit disputes to the king' and 'no one must presume to barter anything to a stranger without the king's consent', assault was punished by the payment of a fine to the chief. A man might travel without fear of danger provided he went naked and without iron or copper 'for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them'. They spoke of the people as 'so hospitable that at every kraal there was a hut kept purposely for the accommodation of strangers, so social that they never passed each other without stopping and conversing. They described the ceremonies of mourning, the laws of the chase, the rules of division of spoils taken in war. They gave an account of the knowledge possessed by these natives of smelting iron and copper, and of making various tools and ornaments'.[3]

The picture we get, then, is of *a coast* sparsely populated in 1552 and 1554, but with many villages further *inland*. The 1593 party, travelling inland, and NNE, were told that they would 'always find villages with provisions in this direction', as indeed they did, and the Bengali met in 1554 north of the Mzimkulu assured the São Bento party that 'the country was thickly populated and provided with cattle'. It is not surprising that a cattle people should have chosen to live in the inland areas for, at least in Pondoland, there is a strip of very sour veld along the coast whereas further inland the pastures were sweeter;[4] a hint of this is given in the journal of 1622 when a man who came some distance and brought 40 cattle for sale at the coast, west of the Mtata, and was asked to keep most of them nearby until those bought had been eaten, replied that: 'there was no good pasture there, and he would make a tour and return in six or seven days', which he did.[5] Still, today, though the population of the Transkei is so heavy, the concentration lies inland of a coastal belt some miles in width. The quality even of the sweet veld is variable[6] and it is reasonable to suppose that the early distribution of a pastoral people was related to this.

As already noted, the 1593 party crossed two belts of 'desert', i.e. country without villages, between the occupied areas in Natal, another 'desert' is mentioned by the 1622 party west of the Infante,[7] and two by the survivors of the Grosvenor, in 1782, north of the Kei.[8] Such unoccupied belts between independent political units still existed in the Transkei in 1865[9] and in Tanganyika up to 1938[10]. They are, I suggest, a common feature of small-scale societies so long as the population is not very dense.

The Journals of 1552 and 1554 show that the Transkei was already occupied by people who had cattle. They do not make it perfectly clear whether these were Bantu-speaking or Khoikhoi ('Hottentot'), but the fact that they were 'very black in colour, with woolly hair' and 'spoke a language not

[1] J. Bird, *Annals of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, v. I, pp. 27-56.
[2] J. H. Soga, *op cit.*, p. 110.
[3] Bird, *op cit.*, pp. 42-6.
G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa* 1652–1795, second edition, vol. I, p. 290.
[4] J. P. H. Alcocks, 'Veld Types of South Africa', *Botanical Survey of South Africa*, Memoir 28, pp. 32-4 and maps.
[5] Theal, *Records*, vol. VIII, pp. 98, 102.
[6] E. D. Matthews, *Tukulu*, Lovedale, 1954, p. 150.
[7] Theal, *Records*, vol. VIII, pp. 79, 83.
[8] G. Carter and J. van Reenen, *The Wreck of the Grosvenor*. Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1927, pp. 59, 65.
P. R. Kirby (ed.), *Source Book of the Wreck of the Grosvenor*. Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1953, p. 36.
[9] G. Callaway, *A Shepherd of the Veld*. London, 1911, p. 28.
[10] Monica Wilson, *Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor*, Cape Town, 1958, p. 5.

so badly pronounced', suggests that they were neither Bushmen or Khoikhoi whose clicks later journalists commented on immediately.

The journal of 1593 proves that the country was occupied by Xhosa-Zulu-speaking people at least to south of the Mtata and possibly further. The chronicler states specifically that the 'language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria', and the chiefs are called *inkosis*, a word already used in 1589. The people practised circumcision (which the Khoikhoi did not)[1] and they both cultivated millet and kept cattle. In the south the units under 'inkosis' were small as opposed to the kingdoms of the north which were trading with the Portuguese.

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We now turn to oral traditions. Genealogies of Nguni chiefs were collected before 1846[2] and there have been a number of studies of genealogy and tradition since then.[3] The fact that it has been written down does not, of course, turn an oral tradition into documentary evidence comparable to the records of eye-witnesses such as those we have discussed, but it is useful to know *when* a tradition was first recorded. The earliest publications all refer to traditions of living within the area now occupied by Nguni peoples. The Xhosa and Pondomise traditions speak of a river, the Dedesi, an upper tributary of the Mzimvubu, which is not known today but which is said to have been in what is now Griqualand East, close to a pass into the Kahlamba mountains later used by Langalibalele, the Hlubi chief, when fleeing from Shaka. There, they say, their earliest chiefs lived, and from there they moved down towards the mouth of the Mzimvubu.[4]

Theal says: 'The legends of all the tribes of importance now living south of the Zambesi river, none of which can be more than a few centuries old, point to a distant northern occupation'. And he continues: 'Those along the south-eastern coast are so closely related to each other in language and customs that they must have formed a community by themselves, or perhaps a single tribe, at no distant time, and as some of them are known to have crossed the Zambesi only a little more than three centuries ago, the others cannot have long preceded them.'[5] However, his only evidence for the dating of the crossing of the Zambezi appears to be the fact that 'a horde of barbarians' suddenly appeared and attacked the Portuguese at Tete and Sena in 1570; they laid the whole country waste, and some of them, turning northward, destroyed Kilwa and part of Mombasa, only being stopped at Melinde; in 1592 two sections of them 'remained on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba.' So much is fact recorded in the Portuguese journals. But Theal makes a wild deduction. He writes:

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[1] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan People*, London, 1930, p. 71.

[2] Col. MacLean, *Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs*. Cape Town, 1866, pp. 10; 162-4.

[3] John Ayliff and Joseph Whiteside, *History of the Abambo*, Transkei, 1912.
C. Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*, Lovedale, 1896.
F. Brownlee, The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records, Loveday, 1923.
A. T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, London, 1929.
The Zulu People, Pietermaritzburg, 1949.
W. D. Cingo, *I-Bali labaTembu*, Palmerton, 1927.
D. F. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor, *History of the Basuto*, London, 1912.
R. T. Kawa, *I-Bali lama Mfengu*, Lovedale, 1929.
Victor Poto Ndamase, *Ama-Mpondo, Ibali ne-Ntlalo*, Lovedale, no date.
A. Z. Ngani, *Ibali LamaGqunukwebe*, Lovedale, no date.
J. H. Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu*, Johannesburg, 1930.
T. B. Soga, *Intlalo ka Xosa*, Lovedale, no date.
Cape of Good Hope, Report and Proceedings of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Cape Town, G. 4-83, 1883 (hereafter '1883 Report').
G. Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, 1906.
J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm (editors), *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, Pietermaritzburg, 1950.

[4] 1883 Report, pp. 403-7.
J. H. Soga, *op cit.*, pp. 91-3; 109.

[5] G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*. London, 1907, vol. I, p. 55.

'The Mumbos of the Portuguese are to a certainty the Abambo of more recent history' . . . 'A section of the Abambo must have directed its march towards the south some time between 1570 and 1590' . . . 'The Abambo at length reached the valley of the Tugela river, in what is now the colony of Natal, where they formed settlements.'[1] For all this there is not a shred of evidence. The only *facts* we have are that there were Mumbos on the north bank of the Zambezi in 1592, a kingdom Vambe in Natal in 1589, a great chief named Bambe a little way south of Lourenço Marques in 1593, and Emboas on the Natal coast in 1786 (*vide supra* pp. 172). No one can say whether or not the Mumbos had any connection with the Vambe kingdom, the chief Bambe, or the Emboas.[2] Theal's speculation—for it was no more than that—was taken as assured fact by Walker[3] and Soga[4], and has provided a legendary basis for South African history ever since.

The single instance of a tradition of *recent* migration from the north that Theal can cite is that of the Abatetwa who were said to have been driven over the Zambezi 'in the time of the father of Punga, the grandfather of Dingiswayo', but there was no Punga in the Mtetwa lineage and the famous bearer of that name was a great-great-grandfather of Shaka, so Theal's informant did not know what he was talking about.[5]

As has already been shown, there were Xhosa-speaking people as far south as the Mtata river in 1593, and there is no indication that they had only recently arrived there. By their own account Pondomise, Thembu, and Xhosa were on the upper reaches of the Mzimvubu for generations before they came down to the coast. There were also Thembu and Xhosa in Natal, thought to be related to the Thembu and Xhosa of the Transkei,[6] and it is quite likely (though not certain) that the ancestors of all the Transkeian groups were in Natal before travelling southward. Bryant believes that the Nguni people were in the valley of the Vaal (where the Sotho are known to have been)[7] before they travelled eastward to cross the Drakensberg,[8] and his arguments are much more cogent than Theal's mumbo-jumbo.

Bryant, however, makes one unwarranted assumption. He is prepared to assume,[9] without any corroborative evidence, that a people moved in the time of the first ancestor mentioned, and that the period they have occupied their country may be calculated from the number of generations mentioned in the genealogy. This is very doubtful. Where the founding ancestor of a lineage was indeed a Moses who brought his people to a new country the fact is usually remembered, as it is by people in Central Africa today who name the heroes who brought them to their present countries not less than 300 years ago and probably before that.[10] The Xhosa genealogies recorded in 1846 and 1858 give 12 and 16 generations; that of the Pondomise 17, and that of the Thembu 19 generations, yet none of the chiefs named is mentioned as having brought men to Dedesi. The Pondomise specifically insisted (in 1882) that they had been on the Dedesi since time immemorial. Furthermore, anthropological investigations during the past 20 years have shown that there is a marked tendency towards the telescoping of gene-

[1] G. M. Theal, *op cit.*, pp. 353-9.
[2] cf. Junod, *op cit.*, p. 150 footnote.
Theal made an equally wild guess identifying the Tonga of Mozambique with those of the Zambezi. These groups differ radically in language and custom, sharing only a similarity in the English spelling of their names. G. M. Theal, *Ethnography and Conditions of South Africa* before 1505. Second edition, p. 193.
[3] E. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, p. 6.
[4] J. H. Soga, *op cit.*, pp. 49-58.
[5] Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 35-85.
[6] Bryant, *op cit.*, pp. 241-61.
J. H. Soga, *op cit.*, p. 84.
[7] Ellenberger and Macgregor, *op cit.*, p. 17-18.
J. Walton, *African Village*. Pretoria, 1956, pp. 25-6.
[8] Bryant, *The Zulu People*, pp. 3-10; 19-20.
[9] Bryant, *op cit.*, p. 22.
[10] Monica Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship of the Nyakyusa*. London, 1959.

alogies. Pre-literate peoples tend to remember the names of only the more important figures among their earlier ancestors so that a genealogy often covers a much longer period than is indicated by the number of generations.

A useful check on the average length of a chief's reign is available from the Xhosa genealogy. Togu was alive in 1686 and is thought to have been old then. We may suppose that he died before 1692. His seventh successor, Sarili (Kreli) died in 1902. Seven chiefs in 210 years gives 30 years to a reign. This, I believe, to be much more probable in the Transkei than the 18 years suggested by Bryant for Zululand.[1] It should be noted that this dating is taken from the more recent names in the Xhosa genealogy, and the telescoping commonly occurs in the *early* generations.

The most certain evidence on the position and movement of the various chiefdoms comes from the sites of chiefs' graves. These are remembered for a very long time. Of the Pondo chiefs, Faku's great-grandfather, Tahle, and five of Tahle's predecessors were buried in what is now Eastern Pondoland, between the Mzimvubu and the Mtamvuna; Ncindise (9 generations from Faku) south of the Mzimkulu; and his father Msiza on the Tukela. Msiza is said to have come south from Swaziland on a hunting expedition. Faku died in 1867, as we have said. It is likely, therefore, that Msiza came south *no later* than the mid-sixteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier.[2] The connection of the Pondo with the Swazi is remembered also by the Swazi,[3] and there is every reason to accept the traditions regarding the places of burial.

The Xhosa chief, Togu, whose name was mentioned by the survivors of the Stavenisse in 1686, was buried at Qokoma, in Ngqeleni district, about 20 miles from the sea. His father Sikomo was buried at Ntumbankulu (in modern Pondoland), his grandfather, Gcwangu, on the upper Mzimvubu,[4] and Togu's son on the bank of the Ngwanguba, a stream flowing into the Mtata.[5] It is Sikomo who is said to have led the Xhosa from Dedesi to the sea.

The graves of the early Pondomise chiefs were at the sources of the Mzimvubu, and of later ones at Latana near Shawbury and in the Tina river.

A Thembu chief, Nxego (or Xekwa), before whom the Thembu lineage lists 9 chiefs, and after whom there were 9 chiefs before 1858 (the last being a minor),[6] was buried on the Msana, a tributary of the Bashee, and there his grandsons fought for the chieftainship. If 30 years is allowed to a chieftainship Nxego died before 1620, and the Luspance who welcomed the survivors of the Sant Alberto near the mouth of the Bashee in 1593 may well have been a Thembu. Nxego's grandson, Hala, was buried at Nkanga (in the modern Willowvale district) and later chiefs on the Bashee and in the modern Mqanduli district.[7]

In this early period tribes and clans known today already existed and were fighting and intermarrying. It is remembered that Tshawe, reputed to be the great-grandfather of Togu (the Xhosa chief ruling in 1686), was given help in battle by the Pondomise, and that Jwara, the half-brother of Tshawe, took refuge with his mother's people, the Bhele.[8] According to Pondomise tradition they were together with the Thembu and Xhosa on the Dedesi.

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[1] cf. MacLean, *op cit.*, p. 162.

[2] Ndamase, *op cit.*, p. 143. Hunter, *op cit.*, pp. 396-400.

[3] Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 314.
Soga and Bryant class the Pondo as Abambo but the Pondo proper distinguish themselves sharply from certain clans of Eastern Pondoland and Southern Natal whom they call *Abambo*. Hunter, *op cit.*, pp. 58; 380.

[4] T. B. Soga, *Intlalo ka Xhosa*, p. 108.
J. H. Soga, *op cit.*, pp. 102; 108; 111. There is one contradiction in J. H. Soga's evidence and that of T. B. Soga is followed on this point.

[5] Theal, *History and Ethnography*, vol. III, p. 77.

[6] MacLean, *op. cit.*, Genealogy opposite p.164.

[7] J. H. Soga, *op. cit.*, pp. 468-70.

[8] J. H. Soga, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8.

The Pondo moved slowly westward during three hundred years (1550-1850), and the Xhosa, Thembu, and Pondomise did so also, but in a piecemeal fashion and not consistently, for a chief who had moved westward as a young man might move east again as he grew older, as Rarabe, the Xhosa chief, did after 1770;[1] or his son might settle where his grandfather had been, as Majola, the Pondomise chief, did. Moreover, a great chief had many homesteads, often far apart: the Pondomise chief Ncwini (12 generations back in 1858) is said to have had homesteads on the Mzimvubu, the Kinira, the Tina, the Tsitsa, and the Mtata. He died at Lotana near Shawbury.[2] Or different sections of a group who were known by the same name might live far from one another, for people who acknowledged a common ancestor and shared the same customs might be divided into two or more independent chiefdoms. In 1686, though Togu, the senior Xhosa chief, was living east of the Mtata river, a section of the Xhosa was already living on the Buffalo, and another section settled in 1702 where the village of Somerset East later grew up.[3] A party of Xhosa had their first serious skirmish with the whites 'three or four days west of the Gamtoos',[4]—i.e. on the fringes of the Tsitsikamma forest—and some were found, mingled with Gonaqwa, on the Gamtoos in 1772-3 by Thunberg,[5] the Swedish botanist. It was only in 1778 that they were driven back from the Gamtoos to the Fish.[6] The main body of the Xhosa crossed the Kei later on, but by 1816 the great place of Ngqika (Gaika), chief of the right-hand house, was within 3 miles of Fort Beaufort.[7] The westward movement is described in some detail by Theal, who checked his evidence with the Xhosa chief, Sarili.[8]

During the 19th century a section of the Thembu crossed the Kei also, settling in the present Queenstown district which had previously been occupied by Bushmen only. These shifts westward were accelerated by attacks by Shaka and peoples disturbed by him, but they began long before Shaka's time. The cause of movement was very often internal conflict within chiefdoms. In Xhosa, Pondo, Pondomise, and Thembu history there are cases of dispute over the chieftainship, often between the right-hand son (the first born) and the heir (the son of the 'great wife') who was usually much younger. Such disputes often led to one or other party migrating—or fleeing. Perhaps, also, the population was increasing.

As they moved westward the Xhosa mingled with Khoikhoi clans. According to Soga the Gqunuqua (or Gonaqwa) occupied the forest country, along the coast, between the Mngazi and Mngazana rivers, and it was here that many Xhosa men accused of witchcraft and condemned to death were rescued and married Gqunuqwa women. They came to the aid of the Xhosa chief, Tshiwo (grandson of Togu), at a critical moment in battle and, as the Gqunukwebe, they were accepted as a Xhosa clan.[9] Gwali, who fled to Somerset East, took refuge with a Khoikhoi chief, Hintsati, and his people mingled with them. Rarabe defeated another Khoikhoi chief at the lower Kei drift and gave his widow, Hoho, many cattle for the right to occupy the Amatole mountains.[10]

It is a gross error to suppose that Bantu-speaking, Khoikhoi, and Bush peoples were mutually exclusive. There is a great deal of evidence to show that Nguni and Bush peoples, and Nguni and Khoikhoi, as well as Sotho and Bush, long occupied the same territories, living side by side and inter-

[1] Theal, *History and Ethnography*, vol. III, p. 90.
[2] 1883 Report, pp. 403-4.
[3] Theal, *History and Ethnography*, vol. III, p. 80.
[4] W. M. MacMillan, *Bantu, Boer and Briton*, p. 8.
[5] Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 88-9.
[6] T. Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*. London, 1835, pp. 284-5.
[7] W. M. MacMillan, *Bantu, Boer and Briton*, p. 8.
[8] Theal, *History and Ethnology*, vol. III, p. 91.
[9] J. H. Soga, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-9.
[10] Theal, *History and Ethnology*, vol. III, p. 81.

marrying.[1] The mother of one of the Thembu chiefs, Cira, who lived near Shawbury, was a Bushwoman,[2] and Stanford reports intermarriage between Thembu and Bush as late as 1874.[3] The Xhosa language itself, with clicks taken over from Bush and Khoikhoi, is certain evidence of a long and close association, dating from *before* the period covered by the genealogies, since they contain names with clicks. There are many tales of trade with the Bushmen, and the Pondomise depended upon them as rain-makers, paying them in cattle and a share of the crops.[4] The Bushmen, for their part, painted tall dark people, with cattle, very frequently. A joint occupation of the same country by Xhosa and Khoikhoi clans may also have continued for a long time; we do not know for certain, but the influence of Khoikhoi languages on Xhosa appears to have been considerable.[5] There are both Khoikhoi and Xhosa (as well as Dutch or English) names for many of the rivers and mountains west of the Bashee; the roots, however, are Khoikhoi.

* * * * *

The archaeological evidence on the Transkei and Ciskei bears witness to the occupation by Bushmen who painted in numerous caves along the foothills of the Kahlamba and more especially in the valley of the Kei, continuing long after the arrival of both blacks and whites in the area. Stow[6] met a Bushman with his horn paint pots at his belt in 1869, on the Kei, and he mentions a painting of the missionary, van der Kemp. In the inland caves, which contain the paintings, artifacts of Smithfield culture are found in quantity,[7] and a cave at the Mgazana mouth on the Pondo coast also shows occupation by a people of Smithfield culture.[8] Pottery of a type made by Bantu-speaking people, as distinct from that made by Khoikhoi, was found in the upper layers of this cave. Some of the pottery collected on the coast resembles that made by the Hurutse in Zeerust; this is associated with the use of iron; and another type, similar to that found in Swaziland, is associated with slag, indicating iron smelting.[9]

One of the problems is to date (*a*) the first use of metal and (*b*) smelting, in the area, and for this there is no archaeological evidence as yet. Xhosa tradition attributes the introduction of iron weapons to Tshawe, who is said to have defeated his half-brothers in battle because his men were armed with assegais, weapons previously unknown to the Xhosa.[10] Tshawe is given in the genealogies as the great-grandfather of Togu, which means that he must have lived during the mid-sixteenth century. Theal was of the opinion that iron was known to all the Bantu-speaking tribes long before this, and argues that: 'In the traditions of each independent community a particular chief, usually the second or third in descent from the founder, was invariably presented as having conferred extraordinary benefits upon his people.'[11] It is equally possible that we have here an example of

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[1] Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-33.
[2] 1883 Report, p. 403.
[3] *The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford* (ed. J. W. MacQuarrie), van Riebeeck Society, 1958, pp. 45-6.
[4] 1883 Report, p. 409.
[5] H. D. Anders, *S.A. Journal of Science*, XXXIII, 1936, pp. 921-39.
[6] Stow, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
[7] M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, p. 138.
[8] E. C. Chubb, G. Burnham King, and A. O. D. Mogg, 'A new Variation of the Smithfield Culture from a Cave on the Pondoland Coast', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, vol. XXXII, 1934, pp. 245-70.
cf. G. Burnham King and E. C. Chubb, 'Remarks on some Stone Implements and Strandloper Middens of Natal and Zululand', *S.A.J.S.*, vol. XXIX, 1932, pp. 765-9.
A. J. H. Goodwin, 'The Bored Stones of South Africa', *Ann. S. Afr. Mus.*, vol. XXXVII, 1947, pp. 1-210.
H. B. S. Cooke, *A Preliminary Survey of the Quaternary Period in Southern Africa*, Union of South Africa, Bureau of Archaeology, Archaeological Series No. IV, 1941.
[9] J. F. Schofield, 'Natal Coastal Pottery from the Durban District, *S.A.J.S.*, vol. XXXII, 1935, pp. 508-27; vol. XXXIII, 1936, pp. 993-1009.
Primitive Pottery, Cape Town, 1948.
[10] Theal, *Hist. and Ethn.*, vol. I, pp. 66-7; 106-7.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

the process of 'telescoping' already referred to, and that Tshawe lived long before the genealogy, as remembered, suggests. All that can be deduced with certainty from tradition is that iron was introduced *not later* than the mid-sixteenth century, and this we know already from records. Metal remained very scarce over a long period. As we have seen, survivors from the wreck of 1554 found the people they met armed partly with iron spears and partly with wooden points hardened in the fire, and smelting was observed in 1686 among the Xhosa, but metal remained the most valuable article of barter at least until the 18th century, and survivors from the Grosvenor saw women using wooden hoes in 1782.[1] Indeed, men of 60 to 70, whom I met in Pondoland in 1931, told me that they had used fire-hardened sticks as hoes, when they were boys.[2] The simultaneous use of wooden and iron weapons and tools for centuries after the introduction of smelting has, no doubt, been common in Africa.[3]

The archaeological evidence does not, as yet, tell us when black people arrived, but it is to the archaeologists alone that we may now look for some answer to this question. Examination of the upper tributaries of the Mzimvubu, to which traditions so consistently point, might be particularly rewarding. The most likely sources of datable material are chiefs' graves, should their descendants ever be prepared to permit archaeologists to excavate them, but it must be remembered that metal tools and weapons were not buried with the dead[4] and the articles remaining may be few. Survivors of the Stavenisse spoke of 'shields, clothes and other furniture' being 'burned on the death of the owner'.[5]

* * * * *

To sum up: The Portuguese records show that from 1554 there were people 'very black in colour' south of the Mtata river, and a little further north 'the country was thickly populated and provided with cattle'. From 1593 there is evidence that the people south of the Mtata spoke an Nguni language, and from 1686 we can place the various Xhosa-speaking tribes known today; they occupied the country from the Buffalo (East London) northwards. Traditions indicate that the Xhosa, Pondomise, and Thembu were living on tributaries of the Mzimvubu, near the mountains, before they came down to the coast. They may have been there for many generations: we do not know. There is nothing in the recorded traditions to indicate any substantial movement of Nguni people from north of the Drakensberg —much less the Limpopo—within the period covered by the genealogies, i.e. since 1300, and it may well have been centuries before that.

None of these facts is new; all have been published at one time or another; but their implications appear to have been overlooked by the myth-makers of this generation.

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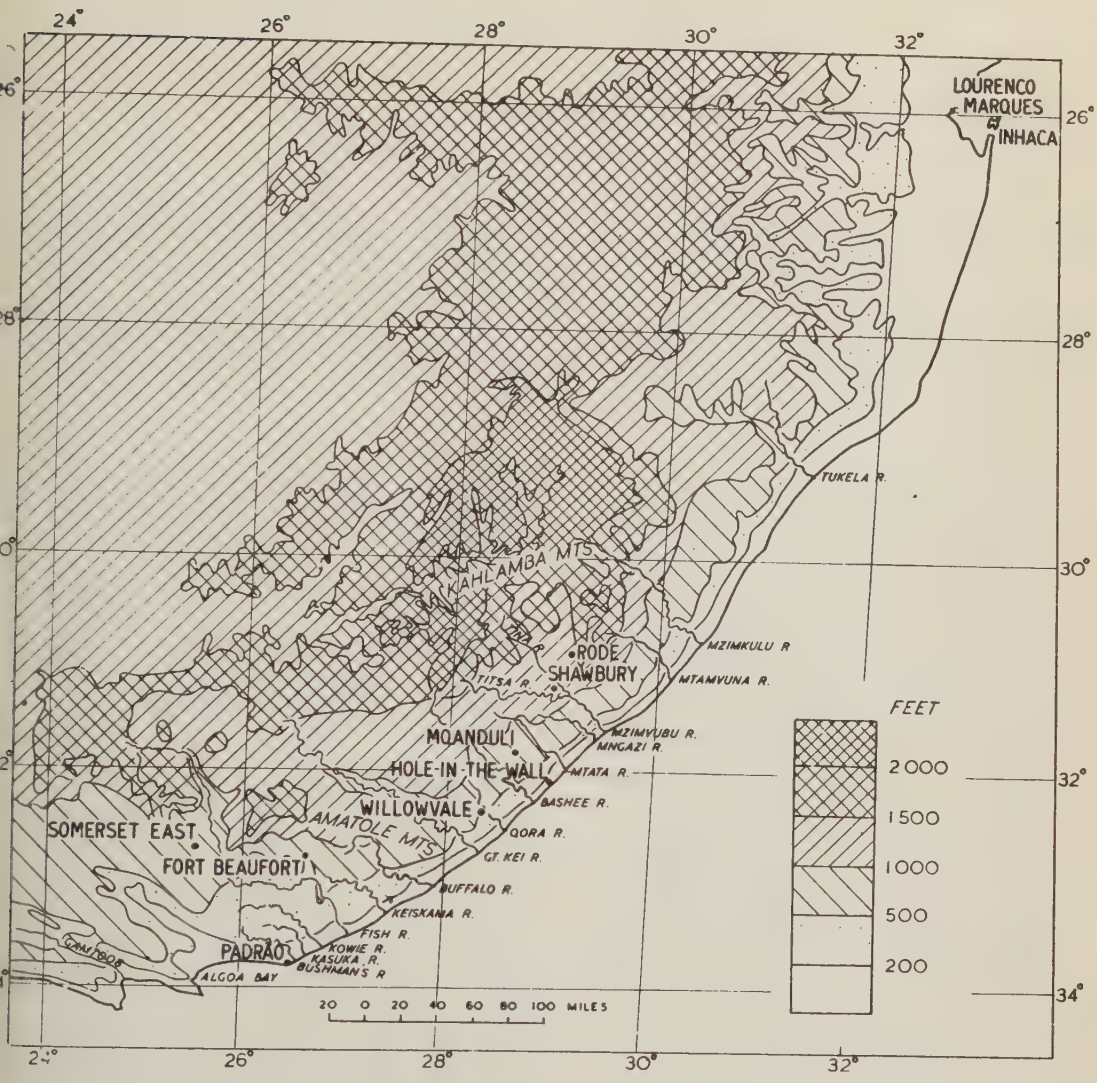
[1] G. Carter and J. van Reenen, *The Wreck of the Grosvenor*, p. 78.
[2] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[3] cf. Monica Wilson, *Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor*, pp. 15-16.
[4] Bird, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 43.
Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[5] Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 46.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MTATA R.
BASHEE R.
WILLOWVALE
QORA R.
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GT. KEI R.
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THE LINGUISTIC WORK AND MANUSCRIPTS OF R. D. MACMINN

C. M. DOKE

SYNOPSIS

R. D. MacMinn was a missionary of the Livingstonia Mission from 1893 *to* 1934. *He contributed to the translation of the Tonga (of Nyasaland) and Tumbuka New Testaments, and made a translation of the whole Bible into Bemba. His publications included school readers and devotional books in Bemba. At his death in* 1956 *he left a large amount of manuscript material. This has been found to consist of thousands of pages of Bemba dictionary work, a Tumbuka vocabulary, and much on Bemba customs and folklore. This manuscript material is described and its value assessed.*

Introduction

Robert D. MacMinn was born in 1870 in the parish of Dailly in Ayrshire, Scotland. His father was a farmer, and owing to straitened circumstances the lad had to go to work at the early age of twelve. He had very little schooling, but the minister taught him Latin and Hebrew, and he also learned Greek. Later he attended a college in London for a short time, and engaged in slum work there. Then he received partial training as a printer at Fraser's Printing Works, Belmont, Aberdeen.

On joining the Livingstonia Mission, as a lay missionary, in 1893, MacMinn was appointed as assistant printer to Mr William Thomson. On Mr Thomson's retirement, a few years later, MacMinn took full charge. At Bandawe, where he was stationed, he also had charge of the gardening on the Station, and shared in the teaching work of the Senior (Teachers') School. In these early days MacMinn worked closely with the Rev. A. G. MacAlpine, who wrote concerning him:[1]

> "From the first Mr MacMinn took great interest in the study of the local African language. We were keen colleagues together in this. I took him with me on my second visit to villages in which I had opened up schools the previous year; and from then he did much itinerating among schools, north, south and west of the Station.
>
> "He took charge from time to time of Stations depleted of their missionaries. I sent him first to Kasungu, among the Chewa tribe. Thereafter he did locum duty at Ekwendeni and Loudon. Finally he was appointed to full charge as first missionary at Lubwa, where he continued till he retired in 1934."

MacMinn was ordained to the ministry in 1906. His first wife, Miss Stewart of Aberdeen, died in Livingstonia; and in 1910 he married Miss Josephine Haarhoff, a missionary nurse of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Nyasaland, who was a great help to him in his work. Together they built up the new station of Lubwa, among the Eastern Bemba people inside North-eastern Rhodesia. There they laboured alone from 1913 till 1923, when two lady missionaries were appointed to help them.

MacMinn early showed keen interest and remarkable ability in the local Bantu languages, and got to know well Nyanja, Tonga, Tumbuka and Bemba. He has left his mark, in Biblical translation work, on the last three of these; but without any

[1] In a letter to Mrs Rodger from Glasgow, dated 24 April, 1956.

doubt it was Bemba to which he became inseparably attached, and on which he left an enormous amount of manuscript material. During his long contact with the Bemba he translated practically the whole of the Bible. Dr Laws wrote in his *Reminiscences of Livingstonia* (page 190):

> "MacMinn, in addition to the regular work of the Station (of Lubwa), has given himself very largely to the translation of the Scriptures, so that now the New Testament and a great part of the Old Testament are translated into this new tongue. Some of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society were in co-operation with Mr MacMinn, but he bore the chief burden in connection with it."

It can be confidently stated that MacMinn's translation contributed very considerably to the form of the Bemba Bible, which appeared in 1956, and which he did not live to see.

Apart from his translation work, MacMinn devoted unceasing energy to preparing a great Bemba-English Dictionary and English-Bemba Vocabulary, neither of which reached the stage of publication; and he also collected a vast amount of vernacular material in Bemba on folklore, customs, and the use and meaning of words. All this is comprised in the manuscript material he has left.[1]

MacMinn retired from the Mission in 1934. He then built a house on ground given him by Sir Stewart Gore-Browne at Mpandala, where he and his wife lived until shortly after the outbreak of World War II. They built a small church-school and dispensary there, and continued missionary work on their own. While Mrs MacMinn lived with her daughter (whose husband was on active service) in Capetown during the war years, MacMinn remained on in Rhodesia, frequently visiting them from his mission home. Mrs MacMinn died in 1945. Her husband continued in Rhodesia until he visited Scotland in 1948. Finally he settled with his daughter and her family at Fort Hare, Alice, in 1950. After some years of increasing bodily weakness, he died in Cape Town in June, 1956.

MacMinn's Publications

(*a*) *Biblical Translations*

MacMinn's published work included translations in three Bantu Languages, Tonga and Tumbuka of Nyasaland, and Bemba of Northern Rhodesia.

(i) In *Tonga*: The first publication in this language was Mark's Gospel (1890), translated by Robert Laws. In 1899 from the Mission Press, Livingstonia, came MacMinn's translation of *John*, and also his *Nchitu Zikuru ndi Ntharika za ku Yesu Kristu* (Miracles and Parables of Jesus Christ), a little book of 62 pages. In 1905 the National Bible Society of Scotland published his *Matthew and the Epistles of John*; and in 1908 his revision of Laws's translation of *Mark*. MacMinn must have contributed further to the Tonga New Testament, which first appeared in 1921, for, in his own copy of the 1938 edition,[2] presented to him by the N.B.S. of Scotland, is the inscription "in recognition of his labours in connection with the translation of the Tonga New Testament."

(ii) In *Tumbuka*: A number of missionaries took part in the early translation work in Tumbuka: *Mark* by W. A. Elmslie (1904), *John* by Malcolm Moffat (1906), *Luke* by F. A. Innes (1909), *Romans* by R. D. MacMinn (1909), *Hebrews* by D. R. MacKenzie (1909), *Matthew* and *Acts* by D. Fraser (1910). The whole New Testament appeared in 1911 "translated by the missionaries". That MacMinn took his part in further N.T. books is most probable from the inscription in the 1923 edition of *Testamente la Sono*,[3] presented to him by the N.B.S. of Scotland, "in recognition of his helpful services as one of the translators

[1] Handed to me by his daughter, Mrs J. Rodger, when she and her husband left Alice.
[2] Now in the Library of the University College of Fort Hare.
[3] Now in the Library of the University College of Fort Hare.

of the Tumbuka Testament".

In addition, MacMinn was most probably the author of *Visambizgo vya Baibel*, a small book of 45 pages of Bible Lessons in Tumbuka.

(iii) In *Bemba*: As this was MacMinn's principal field for translation work, his contribution, published and unpublished, is discussed below, under "Translation of the Bemba Bible".

(*b*) *Publications in Bemba, other than Scripture translation*

(i) He edited a splendid *Bemba Hymn Book* (R.T.S. 1929, pp. 370) of 391 hymns, many with Tonic Sol-fa notation. This was beautifully printed and bound. How many of these hymns (if not all) were translated by MacMinn himself is not known.

(ii) He prepared and edited a series of Bemba Readers, *Amabuku yakubelengelamo iciBemba*, Nos. 1-4, issued under the auspices of the Union Bemba Language Committee. The typescript of No. 4 is among MacMinn's papers. Copies of these books are undated.

(iii) *Imibele ya Buntu Bwine Bwine*, a Handbook of Christian Conduct, based on *My Duties* by Dr Murdoch (pp. 96). MacMinn's typescript in English of Sections 27-49 (i.e. most of Part II, and all of Part III) is among his papers.

(iv) *Ifilimwa Fimo ne Milimine ya fiko*, an Agricultural Reader, based on J. R. Fell's *Field Crops* (Christian Literature Society, pp. 52).

(v) *Amasambililo ya Bena Katekumene na Bena Kristu*, a Handbook for Catechumens and Church Members (Livingstonia Mission, pp. 55). MacMinn's original draft of this in pencil is among his papers.

(vi) *Umulubushi wesu* (Our Redeemer), the Life of Our Lord in 85 sections with scripture references (1921, pp. 69).

(vii) *Imilumbe ne Nfimi*, Folk-tales and Stories, written by J. K. Nsofu and P. M. Mushindo, edited by R. D. MacMinn (pp. 122). The originals of these stories are among MacMinn's papers.

Translation of the Bemba Bible

The earliest Scripture translation into Bemba was John's Gospel, translated by Dan Crawford, and printed at Livingstonia in 1904. Crawford was the translator of the Luba New Testament, which was also printed at Livingstonia in 1904. In 1906 appeared *Matthew*, chapters 5, 6 and 7, and *Mark's Gospel*, prepared by missionaries of the L.M.S.[1] and published by the British & Foreign Bible Society. In 1911 the N.B.S. of Scotland published *Ifyebofisuma*, the Four Gospels. Among MacMinn's MSS is a single typed page of *Luke* (24: 36-53), an entirely different translation from that appearing in this publication, which came out before he settled at Lubwa in 1913. He was evidently not concerned in *Ifyebofisuma*.

Chipingo Chipya na Masamo, the New Testament & Psalms in Bemba, appeared in 1916 (B.F.B.S.), and the contributors were W. Freshwater, H. C. Nutter and other L.M.S.[1] missionaries, and W. Lammond of the Garenganze Mission.

Meanwhile, however, MacMinn had begun his Bemba translation work. Among his papers is an exercise book with (in pencil) a translation of *Colossians* and *I & II Thessalonians*; also, in quarto typescript, one page of *Luke* (already referred to), *II Timothy* 2:14—4:22 (4 pp.), and one page of *Revelation* (9:9-21). There is no doubt that he made a translation of the whole of the New Testament.

In 1934 the B.F.B.S. published another edition of the *Icipingo Cipya*[2] (N.T.), bearing on the reverse of the title page "Revised Edition". In two copies I have seen, this has been scored out by MacMinn, and the words inserted "A new translation, R.D.M." It is evident, from a comparison of the MS

[1] London Missionary Society. *The Book of a Thousand Tongues* (Amer. B.S., 1938), has on p. 65 "Livingstonia Missionary Society": Surely a mistake.

[2] Orthography at this time was much under discussion and changing.

material of *Colossians*, etc., that this N.T. was prepared by MacMinn. In a copy of *Luke*, published in 1950, as revised, acknowledgment is made by the B.F.B.S. to R. D. MacMinn.

MacMinn went on with the translation of the Old Testament, and, as no translation into Bemba of O.T. books (except *Psalms*) was to be found in print, certain of MacMinn's translations were published, as tentative editions, by the B.F.B.S., for instance *Ukutendeka* (Genesis) in 1942, *Amalumbo* (Psalms) in 1943, differing entirely from that published as *Masamo* in 1916,[1] and *Yeshaya* (Isaiah) in 1943.

Missionaries in the Western Bemba area, however, were very concerned over the applicability of MacMinn's translations (carried out in the Eastern area, where he was stationed at Lubwa) to the whole of the Bemba area. They were aiming at a Union Bemba version.

Evidently some of their translations were sent to MacMinn for his information. He went to considerable trouble over these translations. It seems that he gave to some of his African language workers certain books for their reactions. Among his MSS is a page of criticisms of 22 words in *Numbers* 15:3—21:15, with only one of which MacMinn seems to concur. Another such informant wrote 12 pages (double col.) on *Job*, containing about 500 words which he challenged; of these MacMinn seems to have accepted only 117 of his criticisms as valid. From his pencilled comments on those he rejected as invalid, such as "weaker", "synonym", "obscene", and many a time "no!", one can gauge the conscientiousness and impartiality of his work. In addition to the above are 7½ quarto typescript sheets headed "Words unknown in the East", about 200 words from several O.T. books, especially *Leviticus*, *I & II Kings*, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*; as well as 3½ typed sheets, containing about 100 entries, headed "Foreign Words" (from English and neighbouring Bantu languages), for which he supplied Bemba equivalents. It speaks volumes, when one checks these lists, particularly the latter, and finds the large number of MacMinn's suggestions which are embodied in the printed Bemba Bible.

There is abundant evidence that MacMinn's version, which was made available to the Committee preparing the Bemba Bible, had a big influence on the form in which that appeared.

Among the material left at MacMinn's death were the following items of pencilled manuscript and typescript, etc.

(i) MSS in MacMinn's handwriting in pencil, with corrections in ink:
Genesis 1:14—end.
Leviticus 23:36—end.
Deuteronomy.
I Samuel.
II Samuel 1—18:19.
I Kings 1—12:10.
II Chronicles 1—27:8.

(ii) Typescript with corrections:
Genesis: a large portion of the reverse of *Genesis* typescript was used for English-Bemba Vocab., pp. 114; also sheets of Genesis 10: 5-22; 18: 3—19: 8; 24: 23-36; 34: 3-15.
Leviticus 13: 44-54; 16: 4-16.
Numbers 1: 1-20.
Job 21: 3-16.
Psalms: a large portion of the reverse of *Psalms* typescript was used by Africans to record folk-tales, etc.
Proverbs 25: 28—31: 31.
Song of Solomon 5: 13—7: 7; 8: 2-14.

(iii) Pencilled notes (8 pp.) on vocabulary in *Obadiah*, *Jonah* and *Hosea*.

(iv) Corrected printed sheets of the 1943 edition of *Isaiah*: Title page, 1—7: 18; 9: 3—10: 9.

Two further items are of especial interest, revealing the scholarly way in which MacMinn undertook his translation work. They are:

(i) A note book (5¼ x 8¾) of 100 pages containing oddments of vocabulary discussion, evidently arising from O.T. translation, judging from the various Hebrew roots embodied in it.

(ii) An exercise book (8 x 6¼) containing

[1] The *Psalms* published in the 1956 Bible follows MacMinn fairly closely.

136 pages of *Hebrew Syncnyms*, with English equivalents, and suggested Bemba words to be used. This reveals MacMinn's considerable use of the Hebrew in his translation work.

Description of Further Manuscripts

(1) *Bemba-English Dictionary*

The material is contained in four sets of MSS, which I shall refer to as (A), (B), (C) and (D). It is difficult to determine the dates of the writing of these MSS. (A) is the earliest work, and probably dates from soon after 1913. (B) comprises notes written by Africans in Bemba, and probably prior to 1934. (C) represents the final state to which the dictionary had been brought by the author, and probably dates from 1934 on. (D) is a typescript copy word-for-word of A—BENYE in (C).

(A) This comprises two very thick volumes, with small handwriting in ink: I ($5\frac{1}{4}$ x $8\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 1,644) covering A—SEBA, and II ($6\frac{1}{2}$ x $8\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 888) covering SEKA—YUMBAYUMBA. This was an early work on the dictionary, carried out at Lubwa, Chinsali, in North-eastern Rhodesia, after 1913, I would judge. MacMinn had probably been collecting words for some time, and recording them in some other way, for there is evidence of mature arrangement in this work. Subsequent work has entirely superseded the contents of these two, now very dilapidated, volumes. The following from the *Livingstonia News* of March, 1926, may refer to this MS. MacMinn reported: "One third of the Bemba dictionary was revised. It becomes increasingly difficult to get time for such work."

(B) These MSS consist of 92 exercise books ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 x $6\frac{1}{2}$) totalling 7,672 pages, including about 120 blanks.

Evidently MacMinn passed on to at least three well-educated Bemba, lists of words from his MS (A). These men entered certain English meanings against them, some of which were supplied by MacMinn, and then added descriptions in Bemba, and various sentences in which each word was used. Many of the sentences are trivial, but others are not. MacMinn used these books when working on (C), transferring much material, particularly regarding meanings to his new MS. Numerous comments and touchings-up in his handwriting, in ink, occur throughout these MSS of (B). The African writers used pencil throughout their work in these exercise books. I think MSS (B) could still contribute a lot to (C), though the latter is an entity without anything further from them.

These MSS of (B) could be used as an admirable basis for work on a Bemba-Bemba dictionary.

(C) This series is composed of 33 large exercise books ($6\frac{1}{4}$ x 8) of bulky thickness, each[1] containing 256 pages. The total, allowing for blanks, comes to about 8,250 pages, and I estimate the number of entries as being over 21,000. (The latest edition of the White Fathers' Dictionary has, I should think, under 18,000). The whole of this work is in MacMinn's handwriting in ink. Many of the exercise books bear the address "Bellville, C.P.", so I judge that he got down to writing this after the beginning of World War II.

Although (C) constitutes a full dictionary, it is still in a very unfinished state. Alterations, pencilled additions, queries, and Bemba sentences untranslated abound. In addition there is quite a large number of alterations and queries indicated in pencil by another hand, and initialled "P".[2]

MacMinn made an effort to include tone marking of all his entries; but a great deal of uncertainty prevails here, constant alterations having been made in the marking. Nowhere does he explain the signs he uses. He employs a bar over vowels to indicate the semantic length which is so important in the Bemba group of languages.

This dictionary, however, is arranged on a much more scientific basis than that of

[1] Except the first which is a hard-back book of less pages.

[2] Mrs Rodger informs me that "P" probably referred to (now Rev.) Paul Mushindo, assistant for many years to MacMinn.

the White Fathers. Words are entered under stems. Nouns are not put under "l" for a *li* or *lu* prefix, or under "m" for a *mu, mi* or *ma* prefix. Derivative verb stems, however, are, I feel, inadvisedly entered under the original root; e.g. *lufya* (the causative) is with *luba*, and precedes such a verb as *lubula*. This makes reference difficult for those not well acquainted with the language. With the nouns, however, there is a great advantage in having, for instance, such words as *icipumbu, umupumbu* and *ubupumbu* together, instead of under "c", "m" and "b" respectively. MacMinn, however, carries this too far. He treats non-functioning prefixal elements in the same way. For instance, the class 1a word *kateka* (pl. *bakateka*) is found under "t"; *nkusa* (pl. *bankusa*) under "k". Similarly such a word as *akantepa* is entered under *-tepa*, and not under *-ntepa*, where it should be.

(D) Amongst the papers left by MacMinn is a fragment of quarto typed sheets (double space) taken word-for-word from the first two books of (C). This typing represents pages 1-32, 35-59 and 133-176, A to BENYE, pages 33, 34 and 60-132 being missing. In this typing the pencilled queries have not been investigated further, and no notice has been taken of the comments or corrections made by "P". This seems to confirm that the form and content of (C) was MacMinn's last word on the dictionary.

This Bemba-English Dictionary, however, could not be printed without careful checking, revision, rearrangement and typing. And such work could only be done by someone in Bembaland and acquainted with Bemba.

Here comes consideration of the advisability of attempting such publication. Bemba, with a population of somewhat over a quarter of a million, could not support two large dictionaries. The White Fathers of Chilubula produced their dictionary in 1947, a revised edition being published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1954 for the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau. A comparison of their dictionary with MacMinn's MS shows that the one has much material that the other lacks, and *vice versa*. Whether this is due to difference of dialectal area, or depth of work, or both, I do not know; there is certainly a dialectal distinction in a number of cases.

It is a great pity that MacMinn delayed over the completion of his work. It seems that he made the mistake of embarking on too extensive a scheme, with which, as his physical and mental vigour weakened in his old age, he was unable to cope. He was a pioneer in this field, and this dictionary should have been completed and published many years ago. That it contains much valuable material, elsewhere unrecorded, and which could not be recorded today, is clear; but the expense of preparation, and the high costs of printing, would seem to be prohibitive now.[1]

(2) *English-Bemba Vocabulary*

Of this, the material is contained in three sets of MSS, which I shall refer to as (A), (B) and (C).

(A) 33 packets of small paper slips (5¼ x 2), about 23,000 in number, which may deal with about 9,000 English words. All are pencil entries, very tentative, and fairly old. No date can be hazarded for this work, except that most likely it preceded MacMinn's retirement in 1934.

(B) A word-list, partly in pencil, partly in ink, on thin quarto typing paper, the other side of which had already been used as the face copy of the typed *Ukutendeka* (Genesis) in the form as printed by the B.F.B.S. in 1942. To read this MS reminds one of working on a vellum palimpsest, for the typing ink comes through on a number of the pages. This MS is a fragment, HAL—

[1] Commenting on this, MacMinn's daughter writes: "As far as the publication of the dictionary was concerned, my father did approach various people, but was informed that the cost would be too high. This must have been about 1929-30, at which time the White Fathers had already published a vocabulary, and no one felt that a large dictionary had any hope of paying for itself. This discouraged him, but he continued working on it, hoping, I suppose, that as the country developed the need for it would increase. The publication of the White Fathers' Dictionary in 1947 must have been a further blow."

SQUA, pp. 160-318 (with 45 pp. missing), a total of 114 pages. In addition there are 13 odd pages of various sizes in the same style of pencil (one of "d" on the back of a Croxley writing pad cover; "e", pp. 90-93, 95-98, 107-112; and "f", pp. 128-129).

The rest of this MS is missing. If the complete material were available, it would cover about 11,000 entries (370 pages).

The nearest one can get to the date of this MS is that, since *Ukutendeka* was published in 1942, and the face copy probably used by the printers, was used by MacMinn for most of this work, it would be subsequent to 1942. Among the 13 odd pages, one was the reverse of a *Forum* wrapper dated March, 1944; two others on the back of a *Dailly Parish Magazine* cut through, dated September, 1943; and yet another on the back of a *Forum* subscription account for 1944, endorsed "cheque sent Feb. 21st". So this MS was probably written from 1944 onwards.

(C) An important word-study on about 700 quarto sheets (pencil handwritten) dealing with possibly 650 important English words, and giving some 5,000-odd Bemba equivalents, each with its (sometimes lengthy) explanation in Bemba. For instance, one sheet headed "abuse" has five Bemba equivalents: *-pontela* (with two lines of explanation), *-sukila* (2 lines), *-sebanya* (2 lines), *-tuka* (3 lines), and *-penga* (4 lines). The uses of the equivalents are at times compared or contrasted. This is really a study of synonyms and near-synonyms.

In assessing this material, (A) is found to be the most extensive. It covers the whole range from A to Z. There seems to be considerable lack of detailed treatment, and little explanation. There are many obvious words omitted, some of which occur in such parts of (B) as we have. This is not a dictionary; it is a mere vocabulary or word-list, covering possibly 9,000 English words. It is of uncertain value.

(B) similarly is but a vocabulary, and, at that, it is but a remnant, comprising some 127 pages of what must have been about 370—less than half the original MS. (A) and (B) seem to be two separate workings upon an extensive English-Bemba Vocabulary. The series of the words are different, many words missing from the one being found in the other, and *vice versa*.

(C) is most interesting; but, as it deals with only about 650 words, it could hardly be worked into the above vocabularies.

These MSS could not be published in any of the forms appearing here. MacMinn did not get further than preliminary pencilled notes in all this work, and does not seem to have come to a decision as to how to deal with his subject. The only use to which it could be put is as source material for someone in the field working on an English-Bemba dictionary or vocabulary. Much more care would have to be given to the choice of words included than has been shown in the MSS before us.

(3) *Tumbuka-English Vocabulary*

This is in a big exercise book (10 x 8) of 250 pages, with numbers of blank pages between the letters. Some pages have sparse entries; others are very crowded, and consequently words are out of strict alphabetical order, as is natural with a vocabulary not based on a card file system. Without counting each entry it is difficult to know how many words this vocabulary comprises; it must be somewhat over 3,000. This work, probably compiled between 1900 and 1910, is of a very tentative nature, and quite unfit for publication, without thorough work on it in the field. Nevertheless it is unique. I know of no Tumbuka vocabulary, other than H. H. Johnston's very limited English-Tumbuka (and Henga), which appeared in his *British Central Africa* (1897), and in his *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* (1919).[1] It is strange that T. Cullen Young included no vocabulary in his *Notes on the Speech of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples* of 1932, or in his earlier publication *Notes on the Speech and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples* of 1923.

(4) *MSS dealing with Bemba Customs*

These fall into three categories: (A) those

[1] There is also Wm. Y. Turner's *Tumbuka-Tonga-English Dictionary*, The Hetherwick Press, Blantyre, 1952 [Ed.].

written by Africans; (B) those written by MacMinn himself in English or Bemba; and (C) typescript in English or Bemba.

(A) Accounts of Native custom written in Bemba by Bemba informants, in some cases with a view to being used as school readers.

(i) Six note books ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$) totalling 336 pages.

(ii) MS entitled *Ukupepa* (Worship): note book ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$), 60 pages (referred to in MacMinn's note under (6) below).

(iii) Exercise book (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 90 pages (out of about 103 arranged for a Reader); 13 or 14 pages are missing.

(iv) Three exercise books (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 174 pp., entitled *Misango ya ciBemba* (Bemba Customs), written by Paul Mwendachabe, for a Reader.

(v) 8 pp. dealing with customs, mainly *ichisungu* (girls' initiation).

(vi) 28 pp. dealing with customs.

All the above constitute valuable material for anthropological study.

(B) MSS written by R. D. MacMinn.

(i) English notes on Bemba customs; 3 note books ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$), 180 pages. These are possibly translations from Bemba notes now wanting.

(ii) Bemba notes on "Native Religious Beliefs" ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$), 100 pages, of which 56 are blank.

(iii) "Detailed Syllabus on Beliefs", in Bemba ($8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$), 100 pages, of which 25 are blank.

(Items (ii) and (iii) are evidently prepared for class lecturing, and are culled from (A) (i) above.)

(iv) Notes on Customs, written in English (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 44 pages.

(v) Exercise book (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 210 pages, labelled by MacMinn as "Variety", handwritten by him in Bemba, dealing with many subjects, such as hunting, wandering minstrels, etc. Enclosed are 11 typewritten pages of Bemba song refrains.

(C) Typescript (i) in English, and (ii) in Bemba, obviously in preparation for a book or books on Bemba Customs.

(i) Fragment in English mainly dealing with religious beliefs (8 x 10), single space, 16 pages.

(ii) Typescript in Bemba in two forms:

(*a*) 154 pp. (8 x 10), double space, 38 pp. of which deal with sickness and its treatment, 8 pp. with doctors and spirit possession, and the remainder with many other subjects.

(*b*) 56 pp. (9 x $11\frac{1}{2}$), double space, dealing with various aspects. This is typed on the reverse of large sheets, on which is typed (single space) portion of Old Testament History, Ancient History, History of Africa, etc. in Bemba.

(5) *MSS dealing with Folklore*

(A) Folk-tales pencil-written in Bemba by African writers, generally with a view to their being used in school readers.

(i) Six exercise books (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 356 pages, labelled as Books 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 6 (contd.). Certain of these tales were edited by MacMinn, and used in compiling *Imilumbe ne Nfimi*. Many, however, have never been published.

(ii) MS of *Imikulile-yā Mano* (referred to in MacMinn's note under (6) below): (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 76 pages. Some of these tales appeared in *Imilumbe ne Nfimi*.

(iii) MS of *Mano Mambulwa* (Wisdom consists of being told): five exercise books (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 160 pages.

(iv) MS of *Ifyo Twasokwa* (What we are informed): five exercise books (8 x $6\frac{1}{4}$), 152 pages.

(v) MS by African in Bemba, handwritten on reverse of typescript Psalms in Bemba (8 x $10\frac{1}{2}$), pp. 1-137 (with a score or more of pages missing); headed *Imilumbe ne Nshimi*, but containing different material from that in the printed book.

(vi) MS by African in Bemba, handwritten on reverse of typescript of Psalms (8 x $10\frac{1}{2}$), 36 odd sheets of folk-tales and Bemba customs.

(vii) 22 pages of folk-tales.

(B) MacMinn's translation of Bemba Folktales into English: two exercise books (9 x 7), 80 pp., in MacMinn's handwriting (pencil). These are Nos. 5 and 6 only of an estimated 12 books (see MacMinn's note under (6) below). Also 62 fragmentary sheets of folklore translation.

(6) *MS translation by an African, entitled* Africa Calo ca Mfifi (*Africa, the Dark Continent*):

Of this MS there are 66 pp. (10 x 8), 83 pp. (8 x 6¼), and 18 pp. (8¾ x 5½).

The interesting thing about this is that at the end of the last exercise book is a page in MacMinn's handwriting detailing "Work to be done in my absence", as follows:

"1. Translate Hygiene[1] into Bemba. Type one copy. Commercial Boo(k).
2. Reader No. 4. To be typed.
3. Stories by Kosani and Peter to be revised and typed.
4. Imikulile ya Mano (School Book) correct translation. Make ready for typing. If new lessons in Tumbuka book translate and add.
5. 12 books of English translation of (Bemba) Folk Tales. To be typed.
6. *Proverbs* to be put together in one group, and typed.
7. Calo ca Mfifi. revise: correct wrong words like kapinda, kalepa, kepi, etc. New part to be typed and put with old part. Worship—Bemba."

(7) *Miscellaneous MSS*

(i) MS on *Umushili* (The Soil), probably for an Agricultural Reader: (8 x 6¼), 146 pp., written in Bemba (in pencil) by MacMinn.

(ii) Lessons for Catechumens: This is the original draft in English by MacMinn of his *Amasambililo ya Bena Katekumene na Bena Kristu*. (Three sections of Lesson 25, and all but section 10 of Lesson 26 are wanting.)

(iii) MS of Bemba Reader IV.

(iv) English draft of Parts II and III of MacMinn's "Christian Conduct".

(v) Three typed articles written by MacMinn:
- (*a*) Total Abstinence in the Native Church (3 pp.).
- (*b*) On Scripture Proper Names (20 pp.). This is a letter written in 1922 to the Secretary of the Union Bemba Language Committee, Rev. W. Freshwater.
- (*c*) The Validity of Translation from Bemba Texts into English (15 pp. typed, incomplete).

(vi) A remnant of *Bemba Grammar*: typed notes on noun classes and pronouns (3 pp.), and the verb (8 pp.), together with 19 small pencilled pages. This is of no value.

(vii) Vocabulary and grammatical notes on *Teko Mutima* (Patience or Self-Control): (8 x 6¼), 32 pages.

(viii) *Ukucolekana:* 235 Riddles with answers in Bemba only. Typescript (8 x 10), 11 pages, collected by MacMinn as a section of his projected book on Bemba Customs. This is a valuable collection.

(ix) Fragment of MS by an African in Bemba, dealing with Bemba History (8 x 6¼), 64 pages.

(x) Fragment of MS by an African in Bemba, explaining certain proverbial sayings (8 x 6¼), 28 pages.

(xi) Oddments in Bemba written by Africans (10 x 8):
- (*a*) African history (11 pp.).
- (*b*) Material for School Reader (18 pp.).
- (*c*) Portion of Health Reader (16 pp.): see MacMinn's note under (6) above).

(xii) Fragment of a diary (9¼ x 7¼), 29 pages, dealing with the period August 28 to October 6. It is not known, however, of what year; and certain sheets are missing.

* * * * *

It is difficult to assess the value of the material on "Customs" and on "Folklore"

[1] This probably refers to a small booklet on Hygiene, written by Mrs MacMinn.

which MacMinn has left. There is much of value for anthropological study; but much of it requires a knowledge of Bemba. What appears in English is mainly fragmentary. The folklore MSS provide a great deal of hitherto unpublished material. If this were sorted out from what has appeared in Readers, it would probably provide a valuable collection. It would certainly require editing.

It is greatly to be regretted that MacMinn did not have an outlet for the publication of some of this, while he still retained his health and vigour.

BOOK REVIEW

Ngbandi-Idioticon, II: Ngbandi en Frans-Nederlands. B. LEKENS and G. MENS. Tervuren, Belgium. 1958. 1,072 pp.

This is Volume 3, Tome 2, of the Linguistic section of "Sciences de l'Homme", of the Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge. The book before us is the companion volume to the *Nederlands-Frans en Ngbandi* published by Lekens and Mens in 1955 (see review in *African Studies*, 16, 2, 1957).

Lekens and Mens have presented a very considerable work, well printed in this admirable series on strong paper ($10\frac{3}{4}$" x 7"), in very clear type. In the 1,072 pages (double col.) about 10,000 entries are dealt with, at considerable length in many cases.

After each entry the meaning (or meanings) is given in French, followed by that in Nederlands. After this come considerable numbers of illustrative sentences in Ngbandi followed by (i) a word-for-word literal translation into Nederlands, and (ii) the same in idiomatic Nederlands. This method becomes most wearisome, and one feels that the same information could have been given with a vast reduction in space and cost of publication. Word-for-word translation could well have been dispensed with in most of the instances. To take one case: the word **lɛ̀** (to do) takes up eleven columns ($5\frac{1}{2}$ pages); it is richly documented (perhaps too richly) with sentences idiomatic and ordinary; each has two translations into Nederlands, underestimating the intelligence of the reader; this could easily have been reduced to under 4 pages without loss. The way in which the same word was treated in three-quarters of a small page in Lekens's *Dictionnaire Ngbandi* of 1952, though naturally not so full in examples, is very much better for anyone seeking information. The same defect in the 1955 (*Nederlands-Frans en Ngbandi*) volume was emphasized in our review of that book.

A lack in this dictionary is the absence of etymological indication, derivation, or listing of derivatives. There is, however, an improvement by the inclusion of reference to the parts of speech, though the list of the abbreviations at the beginning does not include several of those used.

The way in which this book is compiled is that of a vocabulary plus illustrative sentences. It lacks a real scientific approach in the handling.

C.M.D.

NGARAGÉ, A GBEYA SOCIETY[1]

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN

Of the several societies[2] into which a **Gbéyá** may be initiated (e.g. **gbéle, ŋgafu, gəmbana, gaza, sumbáli**),[3] there is one, the **ŋgaragé** society, which is associated with the principal activity of the Dry Season,[4] namely, hunting by grass-burning. There is some evidence for the conjecture that it is a Banda importation, for the Banda (at least of Fort Sibut and Bouca) have a **ŋgaragé** society whose activities are associated with grass-burning. As a matter of fact, some people of this area actually claim that **ŋgaragé** came from Bouca and others that it came from the direction of **Botaŋgafu.** All of the Gbaya people of the Districts of Bossangoa and Bozoum are acquainted with it, but it seems not to be found among the Gbanu of the District of Bossembele except at Lindaoro (on the Bossangoa-Bossembele road), which is near an area inhabited by Bandas. The **ŋgaragé** is also found among the **Kąrẓ** of the Bozoum District (among whom the **sumbáli** society is very important); these people call it **ŋgaraŋgé.**

Here on the Bozoum-Bossangoa road (approximately 35 kilometres from Bossangoa) two kinds of **ŋgaragé** societies are known: from **Gbazjyą** west is found the Mbay (as the Gbaya of Bozoum are here known) form and east of **Gbazjyą** the Down-River (i.e. the **Wáam**) form. We have no data except linguistic to distinguish the two: the two esoteric languages are mutually unintelligible and lexically quite distinct. We deal here only with the Down-River variety. Other types depend on the fetish involved, for which see below.

The **ŋgaragé** society, like all the other societies, is controlled by the **wí fiyo** 'fetish man' and all of the crucial activities are associated with fetishistic practices. The following discussion will therefore be more intelligible if we first comment on **Gbɛya** fetishism.

All of the principal **Gbɛya** fetishes (**fiyo**) are owned by a certain man, called the **wan fiyo.** It is he who dispenses the medicine (**yina**), treats the sick, and sells to others the knowledge of and right to use the medicines. Even when others buy the right to act as practitioners, he remains the master (**wan**) of the fetish.

The **ŋgaragé** involves one of three fetishes, the **gba yó, gɛmɛ,** or **gbéle** (also called **boro**). (Not only are the fetishes different, but there are also differences in the initiation rites. Thus, in the **gɛmɛ** variety of the **ŋgaragé** the initiates are taken along the banks of small streams at night where they must try to catch fish with their hands.) We are concerned here with the third.[5] The master of the **gbéle** is called **ayúwá** and he has six assistants whose seniority is in the following order: **gba sáßá, yaléŋge, teŋgéle, yagbámgbə, yaáŋgo, matagba.**[6] These assistants are called **mąsí fiyo** and must be distinguished from the **mąsí ŋgaragé** who are initiated into the **ŋgaragé** society (called **tek ŋgaragé** 'fall . . .'). The **mąsí fiyo** need not be of the same clan as that of the **ayúwá.**

The **ŋgaragé** activities begin with someone's assuming the supervision of the area (**gíya** or **gbíya**) to be burned (**bá gbíya** 'take . . .'). He then becomes its **wan** 'master' for that one season. When the grass has begun to get dry, that is, in the month of November (**tí ßálá**), he sends members of his village (now not necessarily consisting of one clan) to burn the limits of the **gbíya** (**də tí zǰ** 'burn limit (of) grass'), the purpose of which is to prevent an acci-

dental fire from prematurely spreading through the **gbíya.**

Later on, when the master and his **mąsí fiyo** decide that it is time to burn, he sends them out to get some **mąsí ŋgaragé** (who in this case are married men) to build (**sąy,** verb) the enclosure (**mana** or **gbaká**). It is erected of upright poles and mil stalks (with no roof) not far from the village.

The next step is to determine who shall set fire to the **gbíya.** The **ayúwá** goes to a diviner (**wí a wèn mə** 'person put affair thing') who learns that it is so-and-so. When he is called and agrees to assuming this responsibility, he and the **ayúwá** proceed to make new bark-cloth gee-strings which they substitute for the ones they had worn. They leave off sleeping in the regular house, henceforth remaining continent, and sleep outside or in the **tuwá bisa** 'young men's house'. They go once more to the diviner to make certain that he is the one to set fire to the grass. Then they and all the **mąsí fiyo** go to sleep near the fetish house.

Preparations are now made for the actual burning and for the initiation of new "members". The **ayúwá** sends out some men to collect animal droppings from the area and to plug up with leaves all holes on the limits of the **gbíya** (to prevent animals from leaving before the grass is burnt). This is accomplished by cooking the droppings at night and then secretively overturning the pot and hiding its contents until after the burning. This precaution is supposed to kill the **dąn saɗe** 'spirits of the animals'. Other **mąsí** go to get the small limbs of the **zį̀yá ri** tree to make into **mgbake.** (These are whistles about 8 to 12 inches long, the uses of which are mentioned below.) Others go out to the surrounding villages to recruit "members" (**bé ŋgaragé** 'young . . .'). They carry with them a **mgbake,** a **gə́tó** (horn-instrument), and tail feathers of the **kóso** bird. "Joining" the society is voluntary, but if these recruiters find someone they want to force into joining, one of them sneaks up behind him and sticks one of the feathers into his hair. When one has thus been caught, he considers it unlucky to refuse.

The initiation rites then take place. At night the **ayúwá** and his assistants enter the **gbaká** while the "candidates" remain outside. The **mąsí** who stays with them sends them in one at a time by calling out, "I send you **gaza** so-and-so."[7] As soon as he crawls through the low entrance, those inside begin to "kill him" (**gbɛ ą**): Someone grabs his head between two hands and twists it back and forth; they pinch his ear lobes, put stones in his nostrils and squeeze his nose, and finally pour into his eyes a terribly burning mixture of urine and the scrapings of the root of the **gan maro** tree. As soon as a few regain some of their sight, they begin to dance to drums and chant (the words of which are **ŋgákórá báriŋgi mbóó, ŋgárásó mbóó, péré péré baga,** etc.).[8] Spectators stand outside and the old women cheer them on. During this same night they are each presented with a **mgbake,** taught the esoteric language,[9] which they must speak instead of **Gbɛya** or **Sango** (the trade language)[10] until they are washed (for which see below) on the pain of death. They are also told not to eat fish or manioc greens, not to sleep in a house that is ordinarily used for that purpose, not to touch a woman's breast or to have intercourse. It is at this time that the **bé ŋgaragé** take society names for themselves, e.g. **tarú** (**baga**) 'meat sauce', **gbaɓí** (**baga**) 'animal bone', **sáwó** (**baga**) 'tendons', **mónɔ́** (**baga**) 'little animal'.

The **ayúwá** appoints an interpreter, the **tágəra**, a young man who functions for only one season, and whose job it is to translate into **ŋgaragé** what is said to them in **Gbɛya,** and to translate into **Gbɛya** what they must say in the esoteric language. He is not actually a member of the society, and is chosen only for his ability to speak the **ŋgaragé** language which he has acquired by hearing it spoken in previous years.

At dawn the **bé ŋgaragé** leave the **gbaká** in search of mil stalks to use as firebrands. In the meantime, the **ayúwá**'s wife (who is called **yinda**) prepares a meal of manioc dough and sesame sauce into which she has put **zímá** (a certain vegetable). When the

bé ŋgaragé have returned, they lay their brands around the fetish (**kalá gba yó**)[11] following which they eat what has been prepared. They then begin dancing and continue until it is time to go to the bush. (A Gbaya dance consists of more or less animated shuffling of the feet, accompanied by back-and-forth movements of the shoulders.)

The **bé ŋgaragé** not only set fire to the grass but also see to it that the **ayúwá** gets his share of the kill, which is either a front or back leg of any large animal as well as the lungs. If one should refuse to give this meat, the **bé ŋgaragé** threaten to poison the meat by touching it with the **mgbake**; such poisoned meat, if eaten, would kill one. The **mgbake** is also used by the **bé ŋgaragé** to call to each other over the noise and confusion of the hunt. The hooves of the animals they kill themselves are strung on the **mgbake** and carried around until the time the society breaks up for the year. That same day the **bé ŋgaragé** return to the village with the meat and place it at the **wan**'s door. They may eat some of the meat, but the rest is left until the morrow. That night there is another dance open to everyone.

The **bé ŋgaragé** are able to get meat not only by requisitioning it in the bush, but also by deceiving people back in the village. Thus, when a woman or anyone else who has never been initiated as a **ŋgaragé** either splashes water on him or else touches him with a mil stalk, he falls on the ground and feigns death. Other **ŋgaragé** come and carry him away (so that people will not see that he is actually still alive), and tell the offender that the only way that he can be brought back to life is to make an offering of a chicken to the **gbéle,** and if there is no chicken, to get fish. This chicken the **bé ŋgaragé** may eat, but only the **ayúwá** and the **mąsí** can eat the fish.

The day after the dance, the villagers come and the man of every household gets a share of the meat, even if he had been successful in the hunt on his own. The **bé ŋgaragé** too get their share, but this is left with the wife of the **ayúwá** who prepares it for them.

Preparations are now made for another dance which marks the washing away of the dirt on their bodies, for they had not washed since they first were initiated. The **ayúwá** prepares beer (**dɔ̨ɔ̨ kúte** 'beer soot'). During the time that it is being made, approximately seven days, the **bé ŋgaragé** buy, borrow or make various body adornments for the big dance. Some of these are called **ɗiɗi, gbákáɗá** (also called **mbé tóré zəra**), **ŋgala, mámbiyá, ndərə mgbɛɗɛ,** and **kisi.** Offerings are then made to the fetish: money (formerly small iron bars called **vará**), which is offered by the **bé ŋgaragé**, and the fetish's special food, which is prepared by the **ayúwá.** (All of this money, in addition to that which is given at the time of the ceremonial cleansing, is passed on to the **abá** 'father', the originator of a fetishistic rite or its principal **wan** in a given area. But after an **ayúwá** has thus repaid his **abá,** from whom he acquired the right to practice, three times in successive years, he and the **mąsí** keep their "earnings".

Having entered the **gbaká,** the **bé ŋgaragé** bathe themselves and dress up, rubbing themselves down with oil and putting on the various adornments. They then arrange themselves in a circle or concentric circles according to when they first were initiated. While the **ayúwá** holds the medicine bag (**fərɛ́ fiyo**), his eldest son, who is called in **ŋgaragé** terminology **riŋgi,** sings out the words:

mbárá pɛ́ mbóó ri mbóó mbó mbóó
sákáwárá zɔ́ba kúmbere péto
mbó mboo

(The **riŋgi** and the **ŋɔ́nɔ́ riŋgi,** called **mąsí ŋgaragé,** are appointed by the **ayúwá** to supervise over most of the non-ritual activities of the society. They have formerly been initiated into the **ŋgaragé** society but are not members of the **gbéle** society, i.e. not **mąsí fiyo**.) To this song and the beat of the drums all the others in the **gbaká** slowly dance around the drums. (This part of the ceremony is called **dɛ do** 'do **do**.') Finally, led by the **ayúwá**, and

still singing and dancing, they all leave the enclosure and thrice circle the **dal** drums set up outside. (This is called **do kɔ́ wéey** '**do** of men' because it involves something repeated three times.) The **ayúwá** then departs (with the medicine bag) and sits down in front of his house. This is the sign for all the rest, including the crowd which had already assembled in anticipation of the dance, to begin. The succeeding hours until way into the night are spent in dancing, beer drinking and general festivity.

At any one of the many dances in which the **bé ŋgaragé** participate a girl is allowed to express her sentiments toward a young man, who may never even have made a proposal of marriage, by going up to him and wiping the perspiration off his face. Ordinarily, a father never looks for beaux for his daughter, and the culture requires a girl to be very modest in the presence of her fiancé. Because of the sexual taboo, the boy is not allowed to touch the girl until he is cleansed. She then leaves her home and goes to live with her chosen one. It is required, however, that the bride-price be quickly paid or else the girl's family would reclaim her. Women have been known to leave their husbands for a **bé ŋgaragé,** and some men in this way even acquire several wives.

After the dance, all the **bé ŋgaragé** put away their adornments in the enclosure. Now begins the period of three or four months which ends with the ritual washing and termination of the society's activities until the next Dry Season, or until reconvened by the **ayúwá.** During this time the men hunt together, go to other dances, repair the **ayúwá**'s house and, when the rains begin, work in his garden. The **bé ŋgaragé** are allowed to return home to perform certain necessary tasks.

When the rains have really come in earnest and people have begun to think once again about their garden work, the "session' of the society is ended in the following way. The **bé ŋgaragé** once again try to borrow money and acquire adornments for themselves while the **ayúwá** and the neighbouring villages prepare beer. At each stage of the beer-making and finally drinking, there is much dancing and general festivity in which anyone may participate.

When the beer is drunk and the guests have gone home, the **ŋgaragé** once again enter the **gbaká.** Just before dawn they begin to dance the **do** as they did before. When they come out, the **ayúwá** makes a good offering to the fetish, consisting primarily of the food which had been tabooed. He and his assistants then re-enter the enclosure while the **bé ŋgaragé** remain outside. They are now to be relieved of having to speak the esoteric language (**kay wen há nú wa** 'take word from mouth their'). To each **bé ŋgaragé** who is outside, the **ayúwá** calls out **húrúba zɔ́ré baga** (or whatever name he has been called by) **mbóó** and the **bé ŋgaragé** answers **ŋgákórá**! This is repeated four times, after which the latter cries out **wéey** 'Yeah!' (in **Gbɛya**) and runs in. He is now free to speak **Gbɛya.** All of the **bé ŋgaragé** are once again instructed in good living.

Once they have all reassembled in the enclosure, they proceed with the ritual washing. All the **bé ŋgaragé** sit in a row. Then, beginning with the **ayúwá** and ending with the last of the assistants, each of the medicine-men washes the **ŋgaragé** by dipping a lump, one in each hand, of the medicines mixed with (the once tabooed) **wiki** pulp into the water prepared with medicines in the special pot called **zórá fiyo** and drawing it down each cheek, down the sternum, down the upper part of each hand and each in-step. The rite continues with the anointing: A **kón** nut (*Sapotaceae, Butyrospernum*) is roasted in the fire and scraped in a potsherd. Into the oil that is thus extracted each medicine-man dips his finger and returns to anoint each **ŋgaragé** on the spots where he had been washed. A blessing in **Gbɛya** accompanies each anointing: "May you eat and get fat; may your body be in good condition (**rɔ́ɗɔ́ɗɔ́**), and may you not get sick."

Before being allowed to return home the **bé ŋgaragé** are required to pay for having had the privilege of being in the society.

Each **bé ŋgaragé** first pays a sum of money to the **mąsí ŋgaragé** whose name he happens to have; otherwise, he pays it to the **ayúwá.** Then another sum is paid to the **ayúwá** for the food that was consumed during the three months. At this time the **bé ŋgaragé** put on their old clothes which had been taboo during the society's session and return to their owners the adornments that they had borrowed. Each of these is also presented with a gift.

The final ritual is now performed. The **ayúwá** takes a small portion of the food which he has had prepared and gives it to each **bé ŋgaragé** who, taking it with his right hand, throws it over his right shoulder. Three times is this done; the fourth time, the **ayúwá** takes a larger portion and places it in the mouth of the **bé ŋgaragé** who eats it. All of them partake of the food, after which they bathe once again (in ordinary water) and depart for home.[12]

Sessions of the **ŋgaragé** society are not held every year at any one place. It is up to the **wan gbíya,** who, as has been said, is actually in charge of the grass-burning, to call upon the **ŋgaragé** practitioners to hold a session and initiate its members. Except for the practitioners, the **ayúwá** and his **mąsí,** all members of the society must be reinitiated year after year if they choose to participate. However, once a **bé ŋgaragé** has assumed a name and paid to be in the society, he is no longer obligated to pay. So it happens that there are many men who participate over a period of several years.

We have described the activities of the **ŋgaragé** society as if they were well-patterned and therefore predictable for the whole area, but this is not exactly true. The **ŋgaragé** activities are a complex of elements which are not everywhere realized in a like manner. There are first the grass-burning hunting activities which are not esoteric but enthusiastically shared by all of the population near any large area to be burned. In this case the **wan** of the grass is an elder of a clan which lost a member in the previous year's hunt. (Around where we are living it is the rule that most people do not know who has assumed the burning rights until the limits of the area are burned.) The **wan** does not necessarily have to be a medicine-man nor have anything to do with any other secret society. (However, we find that no Christian has ever assumed the ownership of the **gbíya**, perhaps because fetishes are invoked to insure success in the hunt.)

Secondly, many of the features of the initiation rites remind us very much of the circumcision rites that were once, our informants tell us, more elaborate than they are now. About thirty years ago young men were circumcised, initiated, and instructed in a way that is familiar to those acquainted with African cultures. In the District of Bossangoa most young men are nowadays circumcised by a nurse at one of the European dispensaries or by some private practitioner who performs the operation for a fee. One has to go to Bozoum to see a closely related people maintaining some of the circumcision activities, but even these are very simple in comparison with those of the Banda, say, at Fort Sibut.

Thirdly, the actual fetishistic rites performed at the time of the grass burning, even when accompanied by the **ŋgaragé,** are separate entities. The owner of the grass may have his own fetishes or he may call on the powerful **gbéle** medicine-men, but these may know nothing at all of the **ŋgaragé** ceremonies and are obliged to call on some elder who has gone through the ceremony to show them what to do. What stands out as being distinctly a **ŋgaragé** innovation is the esoteric language. Undoubtedly, there are many other distinctive features, but we have been unable to sort them out.

If the **ŋgaragé** society is a borrowing (and a recent one), as we believe it is, it has been adapted to such an extent that it no longer stands out as being foreign, but has made grass-burning activities more diversified while compensating for the disappearance of the circumcision rites. In doing this it does not seem to have introduced new fetishistic practices but to have utilized long-standing ones.

What then is the function of the **ŋgaragé**?

The key to the understanding of its functions, we believe, is in the fact that its activities are restricted to the Dry Season; throughout the rest of the year there is even no feeling of unity among its members. We see in it the following functions:

1. It is a time of festivity. Since **Gbɛya** life has somehow been deprived of public ceremonies (for none of the important phases of one's life—birth, puberty, marriage, death —is marked by the type of activity that one's neighbours participate in or enjoy), the **ŋgaragé** introduces a time of excitement and enjoyment that one can talk of for a long time.

2. It is a time for acquiring renown. In the first place, the name of the sponsor of the **ŋgaragé** for any year becomes well known as people talk of the dance to which they had been invited. And if many animals are killed and the dance is a success, his name is naturally associated with it. The members of the society also get talked about if they are able to adorn themselves and dance better than their comrades. This aspect of the **ŋgaragé** is not to be slighted, for in a society where prestige acquired by material wealth is not significant, there are sometimes other substitutes; this is one of them.

3. It is a time when the sponsor is able, in return for initiating the activities, to acquire help in house-building or garden-making projects. Among the **Gbɛya** payment for such labour in European money is even now rare. The usual payment is in beer or feasting (which is not looked upon as a payment but as an exchange of service).

4. It is a time when the **ŋgaragé**-giving group is able to obtain more meat than usual. Since each household goes to the fire with the aim of providing only itself with meat, the local group as a whole may not profit from the success of one of the households. But the **ŋgaragé,** through the sponsorship of the village elder, becomes a local thing and the meat that the **bé ŋgaragé** bring back is divided by him and shared by all the people under his influence. Needless to say, the **bé ŋgaragé,** with their power to "poison" meat, can bring in much more than the local people can, for they meet many strangers in the hunt who are from an area so far away that they would not profit from the division of the sponsor's meat.

5. The **Gbɛya,** not viewing this subject so scientifically, of course, see only the following purposes of the society: The **bé ŋgaragé** receive instruction in good living (**gɔ́ná tą**); they get dressed up and have much fun; they get much to eat; they get wives.

NOTES

1. The **Gbɛya** are a Gbaya-speaking people of western Ubangi-Shari (French Equatorial Africa, now the République Centrafricaine), whose culture has hitherto never been described. But two ethnographic works on related peoples in this area (the Gbaya of Bozoum and the Manza) are the following:

Günter Tessman: *Die Baja: ein Negerstamm im mittleren Sudan.* Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1934 and 1937. 2 volumes. Out of print.

A. M. Vergiat: *Moeurs et coutumes manjas.* Paris, 1937.

For information on the related Ngbaga of the Belgian Congo see H. Bυrssens, *Les peuplades de l'entre Congo-Ubangi.* Ethnographic Survey of Africa. London: International African Institute, 1958.

A linguistic map accompanies the article by Samarin on "The Gbaya Languages", *Africa,* Vol. 23, No. 2, 1958.

2. They are called in **Gbɛya, mə záan** 'thing of outside'. One informant suggested that they were so called because initiates are instructed within a roofless enclosure. All such initiations are supposed to help one to mature and be a better person. A member

of one of these societies may be reproved for some undesirable behaviour by asking him "How is it that you who went through the **mə záan** rites can do (or say) such a thing?"

3. All **Gbɛya** words are in phonemic orthography. The acute accent indicates high tone and the absence of a mark indicates low tone. The cedilla under vowel symbols represents nasalization.

4. The Dry Season in this grassland lasts from November through March. This type of "hunting" involves the burning of a very large area in such a way as to trap animals fleeing the oncoming flames. Animals are either speared as they flee or are followed after they have been burnt and then killed off.

5. Our principal informant was **Pierre Nam-kɟ-ná,** a resident of Saasara, of the Bobire clan, whose older brother was **ayúwá,** and who was himself next in succession to this important office.

6. These names are not etymologizable in **Gbɛya.** At Bobire only **teŋgéle, yagbómgbə** and **yaáŋgo** are still living.

7. The word **gaza** usually refers to circumcision: **nɛ gaza** 'go circumcision' (i.e. be circumcised and initiated), **bé gaza** 'neophyte', **baná gaza** 'one formerly initiated'.

8. The word **ŋgákórá** occurs in Banda where, according to Tisserant (who writes it *ngakora* or *ngakola*), it is used of a certain spirit with a human form. "On lui rend un culte constant, culte magique auquel est voué une société secrète, *semali Ngakola.*" He adds that the word is used as an interjection, a mark of astonishment. R. P. Charles Tisserant: *Dictionnaire Banda-Français.* Paris, 1931. Page 316 cited.

9. A discussion of this language, including a brief analysis of it, is now being prepared for publication.

10. W. J. Samarin, "Sango, an African Lingua Franca," *Word,* 11, 2, 1955.

11. Thus called in spite of the fact that the fetish is the **gbéle** and not the **gba yó.**

12. These features of the cleansing rite occur in other ceremonies as well, e.g. being cleansed after having touched a leopard. (For a discussion of the leopard complex in **Gbɛya** culture see article by W. J. Samarin, in press for *Practical Anthropology,* 1959.)

DOKE'S CLASSIFICATION OF BANTU LANGUAGES

DESMOND T. COLE

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1945 the International African Institute, London, published Professor Clement M. Doke's *Bantu: Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860* as one of the first of the series of works issued in connection with the Institute's Handbook of African Languages. This is essentially a bibliographical study, an account of the linguistic publications on Bantu languages which appeared during the period 1860-1944. It has subsequently become apparent that there are a few omissions in Doke's listings of publications. Nevertheless, this is a remarkably complete bibliography of Bantu linguistic works for the period under review, and the critical appraisals of and comments on the various publications have provided an invaluable reference and guide to our state of knowledge (or ignorance) of the various languages or groups of languages in this vast field.

Incorporated in this volume is a very tentative and incomplete classification of the Bantu languages: Obviously incomplete because it included only those languages and dialects on which some linguistic material had been published; highly tentative because it was based so largely on material which was usually far from complete, very often, indeed, quite fragmentary, and presented for the most part by pioneer missionaries, administrators, travellers, etc., who had had little if any training in linguistic analysis and description. It was essential to employ some such classification as a framework for the organization and presentation of the bibliographical material; but Doke was careful to emphasize that it was ***not*** his purpose "to record all the dialects, or even all the languages, but to make reference only to the more important, to those in which some grammatical or other study has been done" (p. 1).

Furthermore, since this study was primarily bibliographical, the linguistic classification is nowhere presented in totality as such, but appears incidentally and in piecemeal fashion throughout the volume, as and when required to provide a framework for the ordering and treatment of the large number of linguistic works listed and reviewed. Anyone desiring to use the classification itself must therefore abstract it, often with considerable difficulty, from the other material in the book. So little work has yet been done on Bantu linguistic classification, and all of this is so incomplete and tentative, that it seems desirable and useful to have Doke's classification available in readily accessible form, for easy reference and comparison with the classifications of other authorities.

During 1948-49, I was requested by Mr Hugh T. Tracey, Honorary Secretary of the African Music Society, Johannesburg, to assist him with the preparation of a catalogue of Bantu languages for use in connection with his classification of recordings and types of Bantu music. With Professor Doke's kind permission, I abstracted the linguistic classification in his *Bantu: Modern Studies*, and this, with some minor modifications, was published by the African Music Society in cyclostyled form in 1949. This "Catalogue of Bantu Languages", including some additions by Mr Tracey, was incorporated in his *Handbook for Librarians, African Music Research Transcription Library of Gramophone Records*, published in 1951 by Gallo (Africa) Ltd., Johannesburg. Mr Tracey's *Handbook* has had a limited distribution and is little known in linguistic circles. With his permission the "Classified Catalogue of

Bantu Languages", the "Alphabetical Index of Bantu Languages", and the accompanying map, are republished here with minor corrections and the addition of some items omitted from earlier versions.

The system of numerical indexing for the classification of the languages, and the outline map of the Bantu zones, were drawn up by myself. This catalogue follows, as faithfully as I have been able to determine it, the classification presented explicitly or implicitly in Doke's *Bantu: Modern Studies*. Deliberate departures from his arrangement are limited to a few instances in the South-eastern Zone; these and the additions incorporated by Mr Tracey and myself are marked and annotated accordingly.

Republication of this classification should on no account be construed as evidence of my or Professor Doke's present-day views on this subject. Since 1944 an enormous amount of new material has become available, and if it were all taken into account, a very different picture would be presented. This is merely a restatement of Doke's incomplete and tentative classification published in 1945, to serve as a ready reference for those who might be working on a revised classification or who might otherwise find it useful.

In this classification, a four-fold division is made into Zones, Groups, Languages or Dialect Clusters, and Dialects. In the numerical index, the first two digits represent the code number of the Zone; then follow the code numbers of the Group and of the Language or Dialect Cluster; finally, the Dialects, if any, are represented by alphabetical symbols. The letters "l" and "o" are not used in indexing the dialects, to avoid the possibility of confusion with the numerals "1" and "0".

ZONES[1] are large aggregations of languages having uniformity or similarity of linguistic phenomena, but which are not necessarily mutually intelligible. The division into Zones is largely a geographical one. Zones are sub-divided into

GROUPS, within which the languages have the salient phonetic and grammatical features in common, and are so similar as to be mutually intelligible to a considerable extent.

The LANGUAGE or DIALECT CLUSTER is the basic unit, with the DIALECT as the sub-unit. The line of demarcation between *Language* and *Dialect* is ill-defined, and no satisfactory set of criteria has yet been devised for use in distinguishing between these. Provisionally therefore, and as far as our limited information permits, we have indicated under Language or Dialect Cluster,

(*a*) The common name, if any, by which a cluster of dialects is known to the speakers thereof, e.g. there are a number of recognized dialects of Tswana (60/2/3), but the common or cluster name, Tswana, is acknowledged by speakers of all dialects;

(*b*) The name of the principal dialect or language (where one of them appears to dominate), or else a geographical or linguistic term is used in cases where no common or cluster name is recognized,

e.g. 61/1/1 Kalanga or Western Cluster of Shona;
51/3/1 "Komoro", for the dialects of the Komoro Islands.

Dialects included within a Cluster should have a high degree of mutual intelligibility, but need not necessarily be geographically contiguous, nor does this grouping take cognizance of any political or administrative divisions or aggregations.

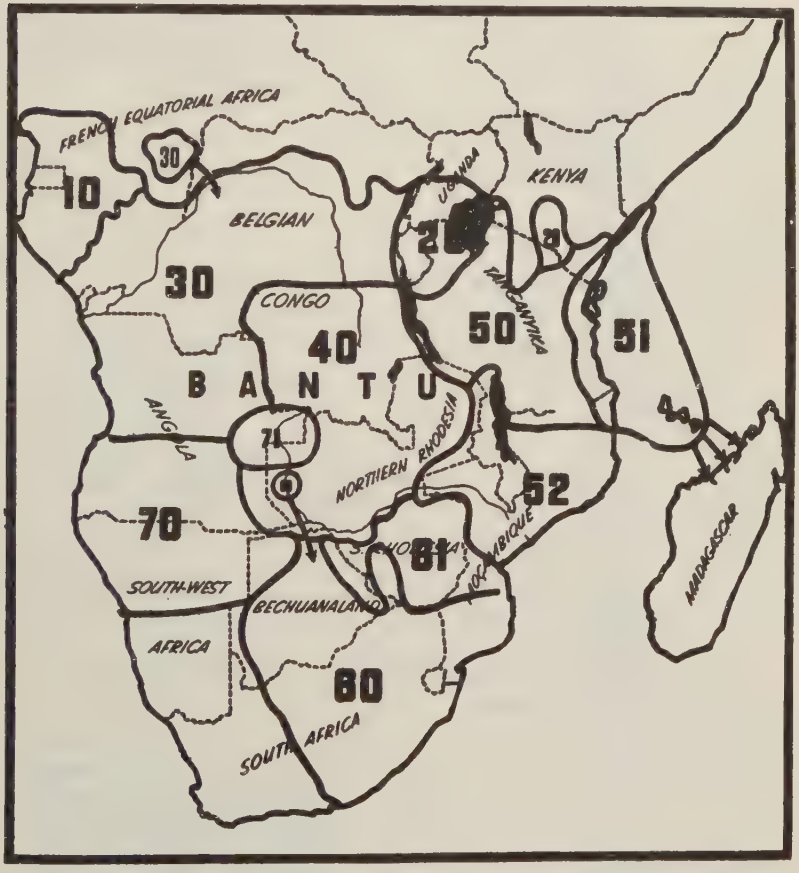
The orthography is necessarily inconsistent, owing to inconsistent usages in different languages and lack of definite information. In accordance with normal usage in Bantu linguistics, the characteristic prefix of the language is omitted, the stem only being recorded as a rule. In a few cases, prefixes have been shown in lower case, in order to distinguish between languages otherwise having the same or similar stems in their names. In a number of cases, the better

[1] For further discussion and exemplification of these definitions see Doke: *Bantu: Modern Studies*, p. 1.

known synonyms are also given. As far as possible, it is our intention that the name of the language as used by its speakers should be recorded, not the names, often derogatory, by which it may be known to foreigners or neighbouring tribes.

Seven major zones are recognized in Doke's classification, and four lesser or subsidiary zones, as set out below.

Zone 10: North-western
20: Northern
Zone 30: Congo
40: Central
50: Eastern
51: North-eastern
52: East-central
60: South-eastern
61: South-central
70: Western
71: West-central.



Map showing approximate localities of Bantu Linguistic Zones

2. CLASSIFIED LIST

ZONE 10 (NORTH-WESTERN)

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
10/1	10/1/1 Bube	
10/2	10/2/1 Duala	
	10/2/2 Isubu	10/2/2a Kwiri
	10/2/3 Nkosi	
	10/2/4 Basa	
	10/2/5 Lundu	
	10/2/6 Koko	
10/3	10/3/1 Benga	
10/4	10/4/1 Mpongwe	10/4/1a Galwa (Omyene)
10/5	10/5/1 Fang (Pahouin)	10/5/1a Makei
	10/5/2 Yaunde	10/5/2a Ewondo
	10/5/3 Bulu	
10/6	10/6/1 Kele (diKele)	
	10/6/2 Duma	
	10/6/3 Ndumu	

ZONE 20 (NORTHERN)

20/1	20/1/1 Masaba (Gishu)	
20/2	20/2/1 Konjo	
20/3	20/3/1 Nyoro	20/3/1a Nkole
		20/3/1b Toro
		20/3/1c Kerewe
		20/3/1d Karagwe
		20/3/1e Ziba
		20/3/1f Haya
		20/3/1g Zinza*
20/4	20/4/1 Ganda	20/4/1a Soga
20/5	20/5/1 Rundi	20/5/1a Hangaza*
	20/5/2 Rwanda	
	20/5/3 Ha	
20/6	20/6/1 Kikuyu (Gikuyu)	20/6/1a Meru*
20/7	20/7/1 Kamba	
20/8	20/8/1 Luyia*	20/8/1a Bukusu*
		20/8/1b Hanga*
		20/8/1c Isukha*
		20/8/1d Khayo*
		20/8/1e Kisa*
		20/8/1f Marachi*
		20/8/1g Marama*
		20/8/1h Nyala*
		20/8/1i Ragole*

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

ZONE 30 (CONGO)

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
30/1 (Kongo)	30/1/1 kishiKongo	
	30/1/2 kiKongo	30/1/2a Mazinga
		30/1/2b Bwende
		30/1/2c Bembe
	30/1/3 kaKongo (Fiote)	30/1/3a Yombe
		30/1/3b Vili
		30/1/3c Solongo
30/2	30/2/1 Ndongo (kiMbundu)	
	30/2/2 Mbamba	
	30/2/3 Mbangala	
30/3 (North-east)	30/3/1 Kele (loKele, Yalulema)	
	30/3/2 So (Heso, Soko)	
30/4 (Middle Congo)	30/4/1 Poto	
	30/4/2 Ngombe	
	30/4/3 Mongo (Lolo)	30/4/3a Sengele
		30/4/3b Bolia
		30/4/3c Ntomba-nzale
		30/4/3d Nkundu
		30/4/3e Kela
		30/4/3f Bushongo (Kuba)
		30/4/3g Tetela (Nkutshu)
	30/4/4 Ngala	30/4/4a Mabale
		30/4/4b Buja
	30/4/5 Bangi (Yanzi)	30/4/5a Dzing
30/5	30/5/1 Teke	30/5/1a Tio
		30/5/1b Ifumu
		30/5/1c Santu
30/6	30/6/1 Bira (Kumu)	
30/7	30/7/1 Bua (Bwale)	30/7/1a Ngelima
		30/7/1b Lebeo

ZONE 40 (CENTRAL)

40/1 (Luba)	40/1/1 Luba	40/1/1a Lulua
		40/1/1b Kete
		40/1/1c Sanga
		40/1/1d Kaonde
		40/1/1e Hemba
		40/1/1f Luna-Inkongo
		40/1/1g Songe
	40/1/2 Luunda	
	40/1/3 Kanyoka	
	40/1/4 Nkoya	40/1/4a Mbwela*
		40/1/4b Lukolwe*
	40/1/5 Mbwera	

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
40/2 (Bemba)	40/2/1 Bemba	40/2/1a Tabwa
		40/2/1b Mambwe
		40/2/1c Lungu
		40/2/1d Iwa*
	40/2/2 Aushi	
	40/2/3 Lamba	40/2/3a Bulima (Wulima)
		40/2/3b Seba (Sewa)
	40/2/4 Bisa (Wisa)	
	40/2/5 Lala	40/2/5a Maswaka
		40/2/5b Luano [1]
	40/2/6 Namwanga	
	40/2/7 Fipa	40/2/7a Pimbwe*
		40/2/7b Rungwa*
40/3 (Tonga)	40/3/1 Tonga	40/3/1a Plateau (North)
		40/3/1b Valley (South)
		40/3/1c We
		40/3/1d Totela
	40/3/2 Ila	40/3/2a Mala
		40/3/2b Lundwe
	40/3/3 Lenje (Mukuni)	40/3/3a Twa (Lukanga Swamps)
40/4 (Zambesi)	40/4/1 Subiya	
	40/4/2 Luyi (Luyiana)	40/4/2a Kwangwa*
		40/4/2b Mbowe*
		40/4/2c Shanjo*
		40/4/2d Simaa*
		40/4/2e Mashi*
		40/4/2f Kwandi*
		40/4/2g Nyengo*
		40/4/2h Mbume*
		40/4/2i Liuwa*
	40/4/3 Leya	
ZONE 50 (EASTERN)		
50/1 (Nyamwezi)	50/1/1 Nyamwezi	50/1/1a Sukuma
		50/1/1b Sumbwa
		50/1/1c Nyaturu
		50/1/1d Galaganza
		50/1/1e Konongo
		50/1/1f Nyanyembe
		50/1/1g Kimbu*
50/2	50/2/1 Iramba (Ilamba)	
50/3 (Lacustrine)	50/3/1 Kuria	
	50/3/2 Kwaya	50/3/2a Jita
		50/3/2b Zanaki
		50/3/2c Nguruimi
		50/3/2d Ikoma

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

[1] Classified by Doke as a dialect of Lamba (40/2/3).

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
50/4 (North-east) ..	50/4/1 Pokomo	
	50/4/2 Taita	50/4/2a Dabida
		50/4/2b Sagala (Sagalla)
		50/4/2c Kasigau*
	50/4/3 Taveta	
	50/4/4 Nyika (Nika)	50/4/4a Giryama
		50/4/4b Duruma
		50/4/4c Digo
		50/4/4d Chonyi*
		50/4/4e Rabai*
		50/4/4f Ribe*
		50/4/4g Kambo*
		50/4/4h Jibana*
		50/4/4i Kauma*
50/5 (Kilimanjaro) ..	50/5/1 Chagga	50/5/1a Moshi
		50/5/1b Siha
		50/5/1c Meru
		50/5/1d Machame (Majame)*
	50/5/2 Pare	50/5/2a Asu
		50/5/2b Gweno
50/6 (Shambala).. ..	50/6/1 Shambala	50/6/1a Bondei
	50/6/2 Zigula	
50/7 (East-central) ..	50/7/1 Zaramo	50/7/1a Kami
		50/7/1b Ruguru
		50/7/1c Kutu*
	50/7/2 Sagara..	50/7/2a Kaguru
		50/7/2b Itumba
		50/7/2c Kondoa (Solwe)
		50/7/2d Ziraha
		50/7/2e Kwenyi
		50/7/2f Nkwifiya
		50/7/2g Nkunda
	50/7/3 Gogo	
	50/7/4 Irangi	
50/8 (Rufiji)	50/8/1 Hehe	
	50/8/2 Pogoro	
	50/8/3 Sango (Rori)	
	50/8/4 Bena	
	50/8/5 Matumbi	
50/9	50/9/1 Makonde	50/9/1a Maviha
	50/9/2 Mwera	
	50/9/3 Ndonde (Mawanda)	
50/10	50/10/1 Sutu	50/10/1a Matengo
	50/10/2 Pangwa	
50/11	50/11/1 Kinga	

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

ZONE 51 (NORTH-EASTERN)

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
51/1	51/1/1 Swahili	51/1/1a Mvita (Mombasa)
		51/1/1b Unguja (Zanzibar)
		51/1/1c Amu (Lamu)
		51/1/1d Ngwana (Congo)
		51/1/1e Pate
		51/1/1f Siu
		51/1/1g Hadimu
		51/1/1h Ngozi (Ngovi)
		51/1/1i Mrima
		51/1/1j Mgao
		51/1/1k Tumbatu
		51/1/1m Pemba
		51/1/1n Vumba
		51/1/1p Shela
		51/1/1q Pepo
		51/1/1r Mundi
51/2	51/2/1 Tikulu	
51/3	51/3/1 "Komoro"	51/3/1a Ngazija
		51/3/1b Nzwani
		51/3/1c Mwali

ZONE 52 (EAST-CENTRAL)

52/1	52/1/1 Nkonde (Nyakyusa)	52/1/1a Mwamba
52/2 (Nyasa)	52/2/1 Tumbuka	52/2/1a Henga
		52/2/1b Kamanga
		52/2/1c Lambya*
		52/2/1d Fungwe*
		52/2/1e Nwandya*
		52/2/1f Tambo*
	52/2/2 Tonga	
52/3 (Western)	52/3/1 Nyanja	52/3/1a Mang'anja
		52/3/1b Chewa
		52/3/1c Mbo*
		52/3/1d Peta (Maravi)
		52/3/1e Eastern Nyanja
	52/3/2 Nsenga (Senga)	52/3/2a Kunda (Ft. Jameson)*
	52/3/3 Sena	52/3/3a Nyungwe
		52/3/3b Chikunda
		52/3/3c Barwe
		52/3/3d Tonga
52/4	52/4/1 Yao	52/4/1a Ngindo

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
52/5	52/5/1 Makua	52/5/1a Medo
		52/5/1b Lomwe
		52/5/1c Kokola*
		52/5/1d Manyawa*
		52/5/1e Takwani*
		52/5/1f Tugulu
		52/5/1g Mbwabe
	52/5/2 Chiwambo (Chwabo)	
ZONE 60 (SOUTH-EASTERN)		
60/1 (Nguni)	60/1/1 Zulu	60/1/1a Zulu (Zululand)
		60/1/1b Zulu (Natal)
		60/1/1c Qwabe
		60/1/1d Ndebele (Rhodesia)
		60/1/1e Ndebele (Transvaal)
		60/1/1f Ngoni (Tanganyika)
		60/1/1g Ngoni (Nyasaland)
	60/1/2 Xhosa	60/1/2a Gcaleka } Literary
		60/1/2b Gaika } Literary
		60/1/2c Mpondo
		60/1/2d Thembu
		60/1/2e Mpondomise
		60/1/2f Bomvana
		60/1/2g Phuthi
	60/1/3 Swazi	60/1/3a Swati
		60/1/3b Old Mfengu
		60/1/3c Baca
60/2 (Sotho)	60/2/1 Sotho (Northern) (Transvaal)	60/2/1a Pedi
		60/2/1b Kone**
		60/2/1c Tau**
		60/2/1d Masemola
		60/2/1e Kwena
		60/2/1f Tlokwa
		60/2/1g Ndebele-Sotho
	60/2/2 Sotho (Southern) (Basutoland)	
	60/2/3 Tswana	60/2/3a Rolong (Tshidi)
		60/2/3b Rolong (Seleka)**
		60/2/3c Ngwaketse
		60/2/3d Hurutshe
		60/2/3e Tlhaping
		60/2/3f Tlharo
		60/2/3g Kwena
		60/2/3h Kgatla
		60/2/3i Ngwato
		60/2/3j Tawana
		60/2/3k Lete**
		60/2/3m Tlokwa**

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

** Additions by D. T. Cole.

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
	60/2/4 Lozi (Kololo, Rotse)	
	60/2/5 Kgalagadi[1]	60/2/5a Ngologa**
		60/2/5b Koma**
		60/2/5c Kuwe**
	60/2/6 Lovedu[2]	
	60/2/7 Phalaborwa**	
60/3 (Venda)	60/3/1 Venda	
60/4 (Shangana-Tsonga)	60/4/1 Ronga	
	60/4/2 Tsonga (Changana, Thonga, Tonga)	60/4/2a Hlanganu
		60/4/2b Jonga
		60/4/2c Bila
		60/4/2d Transvaal Tsonga (Gwamba)
	60/4/3 Tshwa	60/4/3a Dzibi
		60/4/3b Makwakwe
		60/4/3c Hlengwe
		60/4/3d Dzonga
60/5 (Inhambane)	60/5/1 Chopi	60/5/1a Lenge
		60/5/1b Tonga (Chopi)*
	60/5/2 Tonga (giTonga)	
ZONE 61 (SOUTH-CENTRAL)		
61/1 (Shona)	61/1/1 Kalanga (Western)	61/1/1a Kalanga
		61/1/1b Nyai
		61/1/1c Nambzya
		61/1/1d Rozwi
		61/1/1e Talahundra
		61/1/1f Lilima (Humbe)
		61/1/1g Peri
	61/1/2 Korekore (Northern)	61/1/2a Korekore (Sipolilo Dist)
		61/1/2b Korekore (Urungwe Dist)
		61/1/2c Tande
		61/1/2d Nyongwe
		61/1/2e Pfungwe
		61/1/2f Tavara
		61/1/2g Shangwe
		61/1/2h Gova
		61/1/2i Budya
	61/1/3 Zezuru (Central)	61/1/3a Shawasha
		61/1/3b Harava
		61/1/3c Gova
		61/1/3d Nohwe
		61/1/3e Hera

** Additions by D. T. Cole.
* Addition by H. T. Tracey.
[1] Classified by Doke as a dialect of Tswana (60/2/3).
[2] Classified by Doke as a dialect of Northern Sotho (60/2/1).

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
		61/1/3f Njanja
		61/1/3g Mbire
		61/1/3h Nobvu
		61/1/3i Chikwakwa
		61/1/3j Zimba
		61/1/3k Tsunga
		61/1/3m Patwe*
		61/1/3n Zete*
	61/1/4 Karanga (Southern)	61/1/4a Duma
		61/1/4b Jena
		61/1/4c Mhari
		61/1/4d Govera
		61/1/4e Ngova
		61/1/4f Nyubi
	61/1/5 Manyika (Eastern)	61/1/5a Unyama
		61/1/5b Karombe
		61/1/5c Bunji
		61/1/5d Nyamuka
		61/1/5e Domba
		61/1/5f Nyatwe
		61/1/5g Guta
		61/1/5h Bvumba
		61/1/5i Here
		61/1/5j Jindwi
		61/1/5k Boca
		61/1/5m Hungwe
		61/1/5n Teve
	61/1/6 Ndau (South-eastern) . .	61/1/6a Ndau
		61/1/6b Tonga
		61/1/6c Garwe
		61/1/6d Danda
		61/1/6e Shanga
ZONE 70 (WESTERN)		
70/1	70/1/1 Mbundu (uMbundu, Nano)	
70/2 (Ambo)	70/2/1 Ndonga	
	70/2/2 Kwanyama	
70/3	70/3/1 Herero	
70/4	70/4/1 Nyaneka	
	70/4/2 Humbe	
	70/4/3 Mwila	
70/5	70/5/1 Yeei (Yeye, Kuba)	

* Additions by H. T. Tracey.

ZONE 71 (WEST-CENTRAL)

Group	*Language or Cluster*	*Dialect*
71/1	71/1/1 Luvale (Lwena)	71/1/1a Chokwe
71/2	71/2/1 Luchazi	71/2/1a Ilundu
		71/2/1b Kwambi
	71/2/2 Lwimbi	
	71/2/3 Mbunda	
	71/2/4 Nkangala	
71/3	71/3/1 Lunda (Ndembo)	
71/4	71/4/1 Soli	

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M

Mabale 30/4/4a
Machame (Majame) 50/5/1d
Majame (Machame) 50/5/1d
Makei 10/5/1a
Makonde 50/9/1
Makua 52/5/1
Makwakwe 60/4/3b
Mala 40/3/2a
Mambwe 40/2/1b
Mang'anja 52/3/1a
Manyawa 52/5/1d
Manyika 61/1/5
Marachi 20/8/1f
Marama 20/8/1g
Maravi (Peta) 52/3/1d
Masaba (Gishu) 20/1/1
Masemola 60/2/1d
Mashi 40/4/2e
Maswaka 40/2/5a
Matengo 50/10/1a
Matumbi 50/8/5
Maviha 50/9/1a
Mawanda (Ndonde) 50/9/3
Mazinga 30/1/2a
Mbamba 30/2/2
Mbangala 30/2/3
Mbire 61/1/3g
Mbo 52/3/1c
Mbowe 40/4/2b
Mbume 40/4/2h
Mbunda 71/2/3
Mbundu (uMbundu) 70/1/1
Mbundu (kiMbundu = Ndongo) 30/2/1
Mbwabe 52/5/1g
Mbwela 40/1/4a
Mbwera 40/1/5
Medo 52/5/1a
Meru (Chagga) 50/5/1c
Meru (Kikuyu) 20/6/1a
Mfengu (Old) 60/1/3b
Mgao 51/1/1j
Mhari 61/1/4c
Mongo 30/4/3
Moshi 50/5/1a
Mpondo 60/1/2c
Mpondomise 60/1/2e
Mpongwe 10/4/1
Mrima 51/1/1i
Mukuni (Lenje) 40/3/3
Mundi 51/1/1r
Mvita 51/1/1a
Mwali 51/3/1c

Mwamba 52/1/1a
Mwera 50/9/2
Mwila 70/4/3

N

Nambzya 61/1/1c
Namwanga 40/2/6
Nano *see* Mbundu 70/1/1
Ndau 61/1/6a
Ndebele (Rhodesia) 60/1/1d
Ndebele (Transvaal) 60/1/1e
Ndebele-Sotho 60/2/1g
Ndembo (Lunda) 71/3/1
Ndonde 50/9/3
Ndonga 70/2/1
Ndongo 30/2/1
Ndumu 10/6/3
Ngala 30/4/4
Ngazija 51/3/1a
Ngelima 30/7/1a
Ngindo 52/4/1a
Ngologa 60/2/5a
Ngombe 30/4/2
Ngoni (Nyasaland) 60/1/1g
Ngoni (Tanganyika) 60/1/1f
Ngova 61/1/4e
Ngovi (Ngozi) 51/1/1h
Ngozi (Ngovi) 51/1/1h
Nguni Group 60/1
Nguru 50/6/2a
Nguruimi 50/3/2c
Ngwaketse 60/2/3c
Ngwana 51/1/1d
Ngwato 60/2/3i
Nika (Nyika) 50/4/4
Njanja 61/1/3f
Nkangala 71/2/4
Nkole 20/3/1a
Nkonde (Nyakyusa) 52/1/1
Nkosi 10/2/3
Nkoya 40/1/4
Nkunda 50/7/2g
Nkundu 30/4/3d
Nkutshu (Tetela) 30/4/3g
Nkwifiya 50/7/2f
Nobvu 61/1/3h
Nohwe 61/1/3d
Nsenga (Senga) 52/3/2
Ntomba 30/4/3c
Nwandya 52/2/1e
Nyai 61/1/1b
Nyakyusa (Nkonde) 52/1/1
Nyala 20/8/1h
Nyamuka 61/1/5d
Nyamwezi 50/1/1
Nyaneka 70/4/1
Nyanja 52/3/1
Nyanyembe 50/1/1f
Nyasa Group 52/2
Nyaturu 50/1/1c
Nyatwe 61/1/5f
Nyengo 40/4/2g
Nyika (Nika) 50/4/4
Nyongwe (Korekore) 61/1/2d
Nyoro 20/3/1
Nyubi 61/1/4f
Nyungwe 52/3/3a
Nzwani 51/3/1b

O

Omyene (Galwa) 10/4/1a
Ovambo *see* Ambo 70/2

P

Pahouin *see* Fang 10/5/1
Pangwa 50/10/2
Pare 50/5/2
Pate 51/1/1e
Patwe 61/1/3m
Pedi 60/2/1a
Pemba 51/1/1m
Pepo 51/1/1q
Peri 61/1/1g
Peta 52/3/1d
Pfungwe (Korekore) 61/1/2e
Phalaborwa 60/2/7
Phuthi 60/1/2g
Pimbwe 40/2/7a
Pogoro 50/8/2
Pokomo 50/4/1
Pondo *see* Mpondo 60/1/2c
Poto 30/4/1

Q

Qwabe 60/1/1c

R

Rabai 50/4/4e
Ragole 20/8/1i
Ribe 50/4/4f
Rolong (Seleka) 60/2/3b
Rolong (Tshidi) 60/2/3a
Ronga 60/4/1

Rori (Sango) 50/8/3
Rotse (Lozi) 60/2/4
Rozwi 61/1/1d
Rufiji Group 50/8
Ruguru 50/7/1b
Rundi 20/5/1
Rungwa 40/2/7b
Rwanda 20/5/2

S

Sagala (Sagalla) 50/4/2b
Sagara 50/7/2
Sanga 40/1/1c
Sango 50/8/3
Santu 30/5/1c
Seba (Sewa) 40/2/3b
Seleka (Rolong) 60/2/3b
Sena 52/3/3
Senga (Nsenga) 52/3/2
Sengele 30/4/3a
Sewa (Seba) 40/2/3b
Shambala 50/6/1
Shanga 61/1/6e
Shangana-Tsonga Group .. 60/4
Shangwe 61/1/2g
Shanjo 40/4/2c
Shawasha 61/1/3a
Shela 51/1/1p
Shona Group 61/1
Siha 50/5/1b
Simaa 40/4/2d
Siu 51/1/1f
So (Soko, Heso) 30/3/2
Soga 20/4/1a
Soko *see* So 30/3/2
Soli 71/4/1
Solongo 30/1/3c
Solwe (Kondoa) 50/7/2c
Songe 40/1/1g
Sotho Group 60/2
Sotho (Northern, Transvaal) .. 60/2/1
Sotho (Southern, Basutoland) 60/2/2
Subiya 40/4/1
Sukuma 50/1/1a
Sumbwa 50/1/1b
Sutu 50/10/1
Swahili 51/1/1
Swati 60/1/3a
Swazi 60/1/3

T

Tabwa 40/2/1a
Taita 50/4/2
Takwani 52/5/1e
Talahundra 61/1/1e
Tambo 52/2/1f
Tande (Korekore) 61/1/2c
Tau 60/2/1c
Tavara 61/1/2f
Taveta 50/4/3
Tawana 60/2/3j
Teke 30/5/1
Tetela (Nkutshu) 30/4/3g
Teve 61/1/5n
Thembu 60/1/2d
Thonga (Tsonga) 60/4/2
Tikulu (Tikuu) 51/2/1
Tio 30/5/1a
Tlhaping 60/2/3e
Tlharo 60/2/3f
Tlokwa (Northern Sotho) .. 60/2/1f
Tlokwa (Tswana) 60/2/3m
Tonga (Rhodesia) 40/3/1
,, (Plateau, North) 40/3/1a
,, (Valley, South) 40/3/1b
,, (Nyasa Group) 52/2/2
,, (Sena) 52/3/3d
,, (Ndau) 61/1/6b
,, (Chopi) 60/5/1b
,, (Inhambane) 60/5/2
,, (Tsonga) 60/4/2
Toro 20/3/1b
Totela 40/3/1d
Tshidi (Rolong) 60/2/3a
Tshwa 60/4/3
Tsonga 60/4/2
Tsunga 61/1/3k
Tswana 60/2/3
Tugulu 52/5/1f
Tumbatu 51/1/1k
Tumbuka 52/2/1
Twa (Lukanga Swamps) .. 40/3/3a

U

uMbundu 70/1/1
Unguja 51/1/1b
Unyama 61/1/5a

V

Venda 60/3/1
Vili 30/1/3b
Vumba 51/1/1n

W

We 40/3/1c
Wisa (Bisa) 40/2/4
Wulima (Bulima) 40/2/3a

X

Xhosa 60/1/2

Y

Yanzi (Bangi) 30/4/5
Yalulema *see* loKele 30/3/1
Yao 52/4/1
Yaunde 10/5/2
Yeei (Yeye) 70/5/1
Yeye (Yeei) 70/5/1
Yombe 30/1/3a

Z

Zambezi Group 40/4
Zanake 50/3/2b
Zaramo 50/7/1
Zete 61/1/3n
Zezuru 61/1/3
Ziba 20/3/1e
Zigula 50/6/2
Zimba 61/1/3j
Zinza 20/3/1g
Ziraha 50/7/2d
Zulu 60/1/1

NOTES AND NEWS

THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF ZULU

From:
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In *African Studies*, 16, 4, 1957, A. T. Cope presented a paper entitled "The Grammatical Structure of Zulu", in which appeared expressed and implied criticism of C. M. Doke's model for Bantu linguistic studies, as extensively used in South Africa, on the grounds that this analytical and descriptive model is based essentially on "function" and "meaning" as criteria—or perhaps as the sole criterion, since Cope appears to equate "function" and "meaning".

In *African Studies*, 17, 4, 1958, L. W. Lanham, a former student of C. M. Doke, defends the "Doke model" and the "Doke school". He rejects Cope's imputation of the equation "function=meaning", "as covertly practised if not overtly stated", to the followers of the Doke method; and he concludes that this "school", while readily acknowledging "that flaws in its present method do appear when subjected to the strict scrutiny of modern structural linguistics, . . . nevertheless believes that the edifice as a whole still stands firm".

Returning to the fray in *African Studies*, 18, 1, 1959, Cope—who has certainly never studied under Doke, and certainly does not appear to associate himself with Doke's model—claims, in effect, to know better than the Dokeians themselves, as represented by Lanham, how they interpret their terms, in particular "function", and how they apply their analytical criteria. He concludes, "*In my opinion* the interpretation put upon the term 'function' in the published works of the followers of the South African form-and-function school is unacceptable . . ." (my italics).

This kind of argument, of course, cannot be refuted at all, and there is no purpose in following it up. However, in defence of his own model, and in support of his criticisms of the Doke model, Cope invokes the aid of quotations from certain American and other linguists, notably from H. A. Gleason's *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. The methods and expressions of American structural linguists enjoy, with many people—and not without some considerable justification—a very high and estimable reputation. Therefore, lest Cope's invocation of American support appear to some to settle the discussion conclusively in his favour, it seems not unreasonable to present just one more quotation from an American linguist. To be quite fair, we propose to quote from the same H. A. Gleason. To be quite sure, too, that the quotation is relevant to the point

at issue, we shall not be satisfied with references to linguistic principles and practices in general. We quote Gleason commenting specifically on C. M. Doke's model and descriptive analyses, in his review of *The Southern Bantu Languages*, Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London, 1954, in *Language* (Journal of the Linguistic Society of America), 32, 3, 567-73, 1956.

"Doke's work is undergirded by a consistent approach, thoroughly tested by years of active research . . . This is not to say that Doke's methodology is adequate, but it is clear, . . . It is also an important methodology, and as such worthy of some detailed examination and criticism . . . Its strength is evident in the book under review. The descriptions are clear and informative. A bit of checking with informants for two of the languages showed, as was expected, that the statements are both accurate and pertinent . . .

"Doke's model gives the appearance of basing the morphologic analysis very largely on meaning. Moreover, some of his other writings criticize other workers for too exclusive attention to form. But on closer examination, I believe that this is not a wholly correct appraisal. It is necessary to recognize a distinction between methods of analysis and manner of statement . . . We all use meaning to a considerable extent—perhaps excusing ourselves by the rubric 'heuristic'—but tend to state our results pretty largely in terms of form alone . . . Doke and his followers . . . have a model Bantu structure, . . . [and the] matter of correctly identifying features of the language with features of the framework . . . seems to be done, more largely than might be supposed, through criteria of form . . .

"The model assumes a contrast between adjectival, relative, enumerative and possessive concords. These are four sets of prefixes used with qualificatives, and contrasting inter alia in form . . . These four sets of concords determine four classes of qualificatives . . . This is not a contrast of meaning: Zulu **-thathu** 'three' and **-ngaki** 'how many' are adjective stems along with **-dala** 'old' and **-khulu** 'big'. Among the relative stems are **-b'omvu** 'red' and **-qotho** 'honest'. Zulu has only four enumerative stems, **-nye** 'one' (to be distinguished from the adjective **-nye** 'some, other'), **-phi** 'which?', **-ni** 'what?', **-mbe** 'different'. In another language, qualificative stems may assort themselves in a quite different manner . . . Reliance on form to the extent of allowing the term 'enumerative' to be used in Venda for a class of stems of which no one has any semantic idea of number (**-ṇe** 'self', **-fhio** 'which', **-sili** 'different'), is indicative of a degree of sophistication to which very few formalists attain!

"Even when Doke protests against too narrow reliance on form, he is insisting largely on more attention to 'function', by which he means syntactic distribution rather than any crude sort of meaning . . . The Doke model, then, is a very detailed set of grammatical constructs, formally identifiable, and to be identified (so far as they exist) in the language at hand . . .

"Fitting a language structure into a predetermined format may produce distortion. It has therefore become fashionable to condemn any and all such methods; . . . Perhaps the great success of the Doke model should cause some to pause and consider. It seems not only to work, but also to be highly efficient . . ."

Many perfectly valid criticisms can be levelled against Doke's model for Bantu linguistic analysis and description. Gleason has drawn attention to some defects in the review cited above, and some, at least, of Doke's former students and followers are much aware of these and other flaws and weaknesses, and are at pains to admit them, and to avoid them in their own work. One outstanding feature, curiously anomalous, in Doke's work is that his definitions of word-classes are almost all based on meaning —yet, as Gleason has pointed out, his grammatical constructs are, for the most part, formally identifiable. If one is to understand Doke's model and method, and to appreciate the magnitude of his contribution to Bantu linguistic studies, one needs to read and consider a little further than the definitions which preface each chapter in his grammatical works.

AFRICAN MARRIAGES AND LOBOLO

From:

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At the South African Association for the Advancement of Science Congress held at Lourenço Marques in 1958, A. Rita-Ferreira read an abridgement of a paper on the ethnic groups indigenous to Mozambique. The full paper has been published in book form in Portuguese under the title, *Agrupamento e Caracterizaçaõ Étnica dos Indígenas de Moçambique* 1958. There is a brief summary at the end in French and in English. From this summary one reads that Rita-Ferreira has certain regroupings of the tribes and has introduced, at the instigation of Professor Clyde Mitchell, the term "Lower Zambezi Peoples". The need for this term becomes apparent when, as Rita-Ferreira points out, it is noticed that the Zambezi divides the Bantu into two main groups. Those to the north of it are matrilineal, uxorilocal in marriage and without *lobolo* or compensation as Rita-Ferreira terms it, while those to the south of it are patrilineal, virilocal in marriage and have *lobolo*. In the delta of the Zambezi, i.e. the Lower Zambezi, there is a heterogeneity of cultures and in the impact of patrilineal, virilocal marriages with *lobolo* on the matrilineal, uxorilocal marriages without *lobolo* one can perceive the first stages of transition from the matrilineal to the patrilineal type of culture. Thus of the Chuabo, one of the Lower Zambezi peoples, Rita-Ferreira writes: "Marriage is virilocal, with a small compensation and, in case of divorce, the children are divided amongst the parents. Inheritance and succession are matrilineal. Cota, on the other hand, says that these peoples are in an 'evolutive phase towards patriarchy' (p. 121)."

Much the same form of transition has been observed in the delta of the Niger where dwell a matrilineal tribe, the Ijõ, surrounded by patrilineal tribes. Among the Ijõ three types of marriages, so far as the custody of the children is concerned, are recognized. The first is the true Ijõ marriage, uxorilocal with no *lobolo*. The children belong to the mother's group. In the second type some *lobolo* is paid and on divorce the children are divided, as among the Chuabo, between the spouses. Where full *lobolo* is paid, the payer keeps the children.

BOOK REVIEWS

Semitisches und hamitisches Sprachgut im Masai, Mit vergleichendem Wörterbuch. J. Hohenberger. Published by the author, Sachsenmühle (Germany). 1958. xxiv + 508 pp.

It seems appropriate to begin with a survey of the content of this impressive book. A short introductory section provides some information on the Masai tribe and its history, a summary of the languages included in the comparative investigation and a brief discussion of the literature on Masai, especially of the comparative linguistic scholarship (pp. 3-17). The work itself is divided into two main parts. Part I, a comparative study of Masai and languages for which relationship with Masai is claimed, is in turn divided into two sections, Comparative Phonology (18-101) and Comparative Morphology (102-285). There is a concluding section entitled 'Results' (Ergebnisse), which summarizes the evidence presented in Part I (286-292). Part II, comprising the remainder of the work, consists of comparative vocabularies, organized as follows: Masai—German—Nilo-Hamitic — Hamitic — Semitic (295-450); supplement 1, German — Masai — Nilo-Hamitic — Hamitic — Semitic (451-492); supplement 2, Ethiopic/Semitic — Masai — German (493-508).

The importance of this work cannot be

overestimated, especially in view of recent scholarly controversies concerning the relationship between some of the languages included in this study[1]. Since this reviewer is not personally acquainted with Masai, nor with any of the languages dealt with in this study, he does not feel competent to submit the raw linguistic data to a critical evaluation. Nor does he intend to align himself with any one of the parties to the above-mentioned controversy, in which the present work will undoubtedly play an important part. Rather, this review will be concerned primarily with an evaluation of the author's procedures and manner of presentation, as well as with the larger theoretical questions which the work, directly or by implication, touches on.

Hohenberger's thesis, quite clearly stated in the title, and variously restated throughout the book, undoubtedly finds its clearest expression in the section entitled 'Results'. In this concluding summarization of his comparative presentation, the author claims to have proven or discovered certain facts; in the following paragraph we quote directly from these conclusions.

"From the over-all viewpoint, the most important result is the proof of the strongly Semitic character of the Masai language (286, par. 2) . . . We also find very purely preserved original (ursprüngliches) Semitic linguistic material. One is surprised, after the fact, that it could have remained undiscovered for so long (286, par. 3) . . . As a further result, of fundamental importance, it appears that another component (Bestandteil) of the Masai language is Hamitic . . . Masai has variously been classified with the Nilotic languages. Since there are indeed strong Nilotic components in Masai, it is of importance that it was possible to demonstrate, by means of comparisons along grammatical, lexical and syntactic lines, the Hamito-Semitic component in the Masai language (286, par. 5) . . . In summary, one may say: Masai is a Nilo-Hamitic language with strong Semitic influences. Hamito-Semitic is a fundamental component of the Masai language (287, par. 2)."

Since in comparative linguistic methodology one of the fundamental assumptions is that a language is 'genetically' a member of one specific linguistic family or group, it appears, both from the above quotations and from a reading of the entire work, that Hohenberger is not primarily concerned with proving or discovering genetic relationships. To be sure, his use of the term 'character' in connection with a language is misleading, but we assume that the term is used in a typological, rather than a genetic, sense. Moreover, from his frequent use of the term 'component', we gather that, since he describes Masai as having components derived from various genetically heterogeneous language groups, he considers this language a linguistic hybrid, in which Nilotic elements —perhaps a Nilotic substratum, although this is not made entirely clear—together with other elements of Hamito-Semitic as well as early Semitic and Cushitic provenience, form one closely-knit amalgam. While we shall return to the theoretical problem of linguistic hybridism later on, a discussion of the procedures used seems indicated at this point.

Hohenberger's comparative procedure is relatively simple and uniform throughout. Masai forms are cited, together with their meaning and function; these forms are followed by 'comparable' forms from other languages, showing formal as well as semantic similarities to the Masai forms which preceded them. There are occasional variations in this presentation, but, on the whole, this is the dominant procedural pattern. Schematically, it may be represented as follows:

Masai:	suffix *-x*	'plural'
Group A:	suffix *xy*	'plural'
Group B:	stem *xz*	'many'
Group C:	suffix *yx*	'plural'

[1] Cf. A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, Handbook of African Languages III, London, 1956; M. A. Bryan and A. N. Tucker, *Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic Languages*, London, 1948; J. Hohenberger, "Comparative Masai Word List", *Africa*, Vol. XXVI, p. 281-7, London, 1957; J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification*, New Haven, 1955.

If the non-Masai forms are phonemically comparable to the Masai citation (and they nearly always are), Hohenberger concludes that they are the same, i.e., that they all have the same origin, usually a Hamitic or Semitic origin. The total mass of such comparable forms is then taken as conclusive proof of the Hamito-Semitic 'character' of the Masai language. To be sure, the reader who is not familiar with Masai does not really know how large a part of Masai structure—what percentage of total structure points—is actually being considered, but there is no doubt that the number of comparable forms cited throughout the work is very impressive.

Now, in any investigation of comparability among different languages, there are at least three possible bases for such an investigation: genetic relationship, typological comparability and comparability whose origin is to be sought in ethnic and linguistic contacts between peoples speaking various languages. These three types are, of course, not mutually exclusive, but they do represent three distinct lines of inquiry. The rules for investigating genetic relationships are fairly well established and have been followed ever since Comparative Linguistics became an exact discipline in the 19th century. On the phonemic level, the investigator looks for phonemic correspondences—in the sense that phoneme *x* of language A is always represented by phoneme *y* in language B. These correspondences should be statable in succinct fashion, and it is the comparativist's responsibility to account for those instances in which the correspondences fail to materialize. This search is then continued on the morphological level, where morphemic correspondences are sought, but on this level it must be kept in mind that grammatical functions of morphemes can change with the passage of time. Here too, however, the search is for regularities of development, statable in succinct terms; naturally, the phonemic correspondences previously determined are expected to hold true throughout. The materials used by the comparativist in his investigation are morphemes and morpheme groups, either of the type traditionally known as words, or forms with purely grammatical meaning and function. A successful comparative investigation usually culminates in a statement to the effect that language A is genetically related to a group of languages, which includes languages B, F, X, Y and Z, and that the entire group is derivable from one common linguistic ancestor. The formal regularities discovered during the investigation are held to be proof of the relationship.

In typological comparison, the genetic factors, though they may, of course, be present, are disregarded; here we are interested in grouping languages on the basis of formal structural similarities alone. Such comparisons are usually morpho-syntactic, although typologizing on the phonemic level alone is possible, and plausible procedures for such typologizing have been suggested.[2] However, it is of fundamental importance, ideologically and methodologically speaking, that typological similarities cannot be used as proof of genetic relationship, unless the regularities discussed above are also discovered. There are occasions when one feels that Hohenberger comes uncomfortably close to disregarding the sharp methodological barrier between genetic and typological comparison. This, however, may be an erroneous impression, caused, in part, by the use of the term 'character', when applied to a language. For instance, if the complex inflectional system of ancient Greek is an indication of its Indo-European 'character', is the absence of such inflectional complexity in modern English proof of its non-Indo-European 'character'?

The comparison of languages for the purpose of demonstrating that certain features were acquired through linguistic contact also requires systematic procedures. Moreover, it requires that certain facts about the languages involved be very accurately known and described, before acquisition through

[2] C. F. Voegelin, "Linear Phonemes and Additive Components", *Word*, Vol. 12, pp. 429-43, New York, 1956; C. F. Voegelin and John Yegerlehner, "The Scope of Whole System ('Distinctive Feature') and Subsystem Typologies", *Word*, Vol. 12, pp. 444-53, New York, 1956.

contact can truly be proven. As systematically dealt with in a recent work by Weinreich,[3] contact phenomena are statable in terms of 'interference', i.e., changes in a given language can be shown to have been caused by differences in structure, be it phonemic, morphemic, syntactic or lexical, between two languages that have been in contact. For instance, there is now in Puerto Rican Spanish a term *siore*, representing the short-stop position on a baseball team; this form can be shown—phoneme by phoneme —to be the English form *short*, subject to interference from the Spanish phonemic system. An example of lexical interference is the use, in Puerto Rico, of the term *aplicación* in the sense of 'application form', a piece of paper which must be filled out when applying for a position. Prior to contact with American English the Spanish form did not possess this meaning.

Interference phenomena can, and should, be stated in systematic terms, but it can easily be seen that a very accurate knowledge of the languages involved is necessary. When long historical periods have elapsed between the first occurrence of the interference and the investigation—and when we might possibly speak of the presence of a substratum — proof becomes much more difficult, since, usually, the substratum is imperfectly known, if, indeed, it is known at all. We are making this point here, because it appears that Hohenberger's investigation deals, to a large extent, with languages removed in time, as well as in geography. Moreover, if long periods of historical development are involved, comparative linguistic data and facts will have to be introduced, requiring, as stated before, regular correspondences. For instance, Hohenberger claims the presence, in Masai, of "early" Hamito-Semitic forms. In order to prove such a claim, one would have to reconstruct Proto-Hamito-Semitic and show that this proto-form either (1) survived in Masai (if Masai is a Hamito-Semitic language), citing phonemic correspondences in the survivals of all such forms, or (2) that it was acquired by the linguistic ancestor of Masai, resulting in certain interference phenomena which should be cited in support. However, since the linguistic ancestor of Masai is not known (and, if Hohenberger is right, Masai would seem to have, not one, but several ancestors), this appears to be a hopeless undertaking. In this connection one wonders why certain languages are introduced at all. Akkadian forms are cited time and again, and their astonishing similarity to their Masai counterparts is pointed out. Since, in this case, there is no possibility of recent borrowings, one wonders about the significance of such similarities. Let us assume, for the moment, that Masai is a Semitic language, of the same branch of Semitic as Akkadian; or, that Proto-Masai, or pre-Masai, had acquired certain forms in contact with Akkadian. In either case, after the passing of several millenia, it is most unlikely for phonemic and/or lexical similarity to persist. One is therefore almost forced to the conclusion that Masai-Akkadian similarities (and they are certainly not correspondences) are an entirely gratuitous addition to the present work.

Since we have mentioned the requirement of accurate data in proving contact phenomena, and since Hohenberger specifically claims that there is evidence of interference in the Masai phonemic system, his procedure in this section of the book (18-101, but especially 22-28) must be commented on. Unfortunately, his description of Masai speech sounds is not a phonemic description, nor is it accurate in terms of articulatory phonetics. Rather, the description is given in terms of approximations. Thus, a phone *c* is described as "similar to *tš, ty*; is occasionally softened to *j̰*.* The sound occurs only after *l* of the article (. . .) and arises through assimilation from *š* . . ." (22). A listing of phonemes, together with accurate phonetic descriptions of their allophones and concise distributional statements of allophone occurrence would seem more desirable here. Quite disturbing in the discussion of the phonemic system is the claim that dia-

[3] U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, New York, 1953.
* *j* with subscript tilde.

lectal or individual fluctuations (Schwankungen) in the phonetic realization of phonemes—phonetic variants, in other words—are due, partly, to "old Semitic sounds, which, however, through foreign influences of various kinds, have been changed and are still in the process of being changed" (22) and ". . . these sounds in part had to adjust to the organs of a racially different population" (*ibid.*). Unless we credit Hohenberger with second sight, these statements contain implications of rather amazing import: first, that allophonic or dialectal variations in the phonemic system of Masai are necessarily caused by interference, and therefore, secondly, that the Masai speak their own language with a foreign accent; not to mention the rather questionable racial determinism implied in the last quoted statement. It should also be noted here that, although Hohenberger is aware of the fact that Masai has tone (27, fn3) and acknowledges the contribution of A. N. Tucker and J. Tompo ole Mpaayei[4] and their description of Masai tone, he himself deals with tone in a rather cavalier fashion, usually leaving it unmarked, and does not treat tone systematically, either genetically, typologically or from the standpoint of possible interference, anywhere in his work.

What one misses in this book, then, is systematization of procedure, a method of comparison which would permit clear-cut statements—supported by either correspondences or analysis of interference—concerning the genetic affiliation of Masai, as well as the exact degree of non-Masai influence in this language. The absence of such a systematic treatment is all the more deplorable, since the book obviously is the result of much painstaking research and presents such a wealth of data. However, without systematization, the work is no more than an exercise in juxtaposition of linguistic data from Masai and many other languages, which may, or may not, be in some way related. As a matter of fact, one does find, throughout the work, statements which, while tantalizing, are nevertheless characterized by vagueness or doubtfulness. For the purpose of illustration we cite, or comment on, several of these statements in the following.

p. 169: "The Adjective proper of Masai is therefore Semitic."

p. 175: "The origin of this class of nouns, with this plural, is perhaps not unified; rather, different features (Verschiedenes) may have coalesced (zusammengefallen)".

p. 183: "Since in these nouns various items (verschiedenerlei) coalesced and became unified (vereinheitlicht), it is not always possible to find the exact correspondences in other languages or to recognize them with certainty."

p. 184: "Surprisingly, Masai parallels (geht zusammen) this plural suffix of Syrian." (!)

The discussion of Masai **okūni/ūni** 'three' and its etymological connections with equivalents in other languages (209) is entirely unconvincing and, unless supported by strict phonemic correspondences, reminds one of the old accusation that in etymology the vowels count for nothing and the consonants for very little.

p. 211: "From the preceding investigation the first conclusion is that in its numerals Masai does not coincide with Semitic. On the other hand, it has become convincingly obvious that the Masai numeral, with the exception of some low numbers—especially 2 and 4—is purely Hamitic and belongs primarily to Low Cushitic."

p. 214: "Now, the formation of the Perfect by suffixation (das suffigierende Perfekt) is lacking in Masai. . . . However, in the principal language of East Semitic, Akkadian, as well as in the ancient Semitic language, Ugaritic, this Perfect form is also absent, just as in Masai." One is tempted to comment that it is lacking in many languages, including English.

p. 225: "In Masai the triliteral roots are not completely lacking, but are less prominent (treten zurück) than the roots consisting of two radicals. Perhaps almost one half of the verbs in Masai is monosyllabic."

While the above quotations illustrate the

[4] *A Maasai Grammar*, London, 1955.

lack of systematization, the possibility must at least be faced that it may be impossible to work out a systematization, in view of the fact that the data available to the author is by no means uniform in its reliability. One therefore wonders whether some of Hohenberger's claims can be proven at all, at the present stage of our knowledge in this area.

Our own evaluation of Hohenberger's results in this work would seem to permit the statement that there are certain definite connections, probably genetic, between Masai and the handful of languages spoken in the same general area as Masai and traditionally known as Nilo-Hamitic. This relationship has, however, not been in doubt, regardless of the ultimate genetic affiliations of these languages. Beyond this, Hohenberger shows that there are more or less remarkable typological similarities between Masai and certain so-called Hamito-Semitic languages (or Afro-Asiatic, if one prefers Greenberg's terminology[5]), especially the Cushitic branch. Typological parallels, however, are not proof of any type of connection, genetic or otherwise. It is possible, of course, to observe typological similarities in a given geographic area and to investigate the possibility that such 'area characteristics' may be the result of language contact over a long period of time. Such 'Area Linguistics' is indeed a worthwhile undertaking and is just in the initial stages of systematic treatment. Hohenberger does not, however, present a study of a linguistic area; moreover, in the absence of systematic statements about interference phenomena, he does not prove contact acquisition. He does, apparently, believe that Masai is a linguistic hybrid, fused together from materials of diverse provenience. This assumption seems to underlie the entire work, and it often appears that he is simply adducing what he considers evidence for what he is firmly convinced of. In this connection, we should like to make it quite clear that we do not wish to imply that Masai is *not* a Nilo-Hamitic or Hamito-Semitic language; nor do we intend to claim that it must therefore belong to a Great Lakes group of a southern sub-branch of an Eastern Branch of a Macro-Sudanic linguistic family, as Greenberg has it.[6] Our point is merely that Hohenberger, due to a perhaps unavoidable lack of systematization, does not furnish proof for his claims (with the possible exception of obvious borrowings, all undoubtedly of recent vintage). Nor, indeed, does he prove the hybrid nature of Masai.

Linguistic hybridism of the perfect amalgam type, though often claimed, especially in the African area, has never—at least in the opinion of this reviewer—been satisfactorily demonstrated. As a matter of fact, one wonders how such a phenomenon could or would be produced, and we believe that a plausible description of the process would be a fundamental requisite in proving the existence of the hybrid. In the present work we are told that the Masai adjective is Semitic, while its numeral system is primarily Hamitic and its verb system, because of the regrettable dearth of triliteral roots, is possibly Nilotic, or whatever term one prefers. How does such linguistic eclecticism ever arise? Languages are spoken by people, ethnic units, who do, of course, have contact —more or less intimate contact—with other peoples speaking other languages. What type of contact conditions could possibly induce them to give up entire sub-structures of their own language, whatever it may have been, in order to adopt sub-systems from other languages. This is an over-simplification of the problem, of course, but the rise of the perfect linguistic hybrid does require the possibility of acquisition *en bloc* of structural characteristics. It would seem high time to subject the entire question of linguistic hybridism to a systematic investigation. In this day and age, it strikes one as rather nonsensical to describe a language as the offspring, so to speak, of a Nilotic mother and her Hamito-Semitic cross-cousin, to paraphrase one of Meinhof's famous statements.

Let us, for the sake of the argument, admit

[5] J. H. Greenberg, *op. cit.*
[6] Greenberg, *op. cit.*

the possibility of hybridization of the type claimed for Masai. Since we cannot assume that there once was an ethnic group without language, searching for linguistic bits and pieces, there must have been what we might today call a 'substratum'. This substratum may have been Semitic or Hamitic or what is commonly called Nilotic. Assuming further that this original substratum was in close linguistic contact with other languages, it should be possible to demonstrate which was the 'superstratum' in question, since, for example, Hamitic superimposed on Nilotic should produce different interference phenomena than Nilotic superimposed on Hamitic. Naturally, a rather thorough knowledge of the languages involved would be essential, as well as their status at the particular period for which one claims contact to have taken place. A further difficulty lies in the fact that some features of linguistic structure are far more susceptible of acquisition or loss in contact situations than others. The writer recently completed a study which shows that, even in a sub-system like phonology, there is differential susceptibility in contact situations, and furthermore, how relatively little the phonological structure does change, even under conditions of intense bilingualism.[7] Morphological structure, as is well known, is even less susceptible to large scale changes under contact conditions. In fact, given our present knowledge of contact phenomena, the creation of the perfect hybrid or amalgam would seem so unlikely as to make its actual occurrence extremely rare. Especially the type of amalgam in which adjectives are derived from language group A, numerals from group B, verbs from group C, nouns from both A and B, forming something of an amalgam within an amalgam. One cannot state with certainty, of course, that such developments are impossible. But, unless proof of their existence is furnished in a systematic and plausible fashion, any claims of connections through hybridization are premature. In the case of the present work we must conclude that the exact linguistic affiliations of Masai have yet to be established.

While we feel highly critical of Hohenberger's procedures and method of proof, and very sceptical about the theoretical soundness of what his claims imply, we should also like to point out that this work contains a great deal of useful information. Foremost in this respect are the vocabularies which comprise the entire second half of the book. Whether they help to prove certain theoretical points or not is irrelevant. The information they contain obviously represents an enormous amount of research and will undoubtedly be very useful to scholars in the field, especially to those interested in finding a definite solution to the question of the ultimate linguistic affiliations of Masai and other non-Bantu languages of Northeast Africa.

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British Policy in changing Africa. SIR ANDREW COHEN. London: Routledge; Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1959. 12s.

The author of this small book held an influential position in the Africa section of the Colonial Office. He has since then been governor of Uganda and is now the British member of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. He is thus well qualified to survey Britain's colonial policy and he does so in a concise way that students will appreciate.

These lectures being addressed to an American academic audience, Sir Andrew had to tailor his presentation to fit their known suspicion of colonialism. He had also to keep in mind the present attitude of the Colonial Office. Performing this delicate feat, Sir Andrew holds his balance adroitly, qualifying his defence of current British policy with admissions of past fail-

[7] H. Wolff, "Subsystem Typologies and Area Linguistics", *Anthropological Linguistics*, in press.

ures—imperial failures are always in the past, never in the present. By putting his main emphasis on political and social factors to the neglect of economic considerations, Sir Andrew follows a well-established pattern that may lead the unwary reader away from the thorniest issues in current conflicts. In particular, no account of colonial claims is complete if it fails to stress the importance rightly attached to industrialization by colonial peoples. By diminishing this aspect of the subject, Sir Andrew's discourses leave one with a sense of issues evaded.

J.L.

Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate History and Administration. S. M. GABATSHWANE. Published by the author, Kanye, B.P. 1957. 97 pp.

In as far as this represents an attempt by a Tswana to write objectively of his country and its history, this little book is to be commended.

The most successful part, in which an objective approach is achieved, consists of the last third of the book, entitled somewhat academically "Civics", but describing the present administrative arrangements in the Protectorate.

No good historical outline emerges from the first or historical section. There are mistakes of fact, while some by no means generally accepted interpretations of events and policies are expressed. At present a brief objective history of the Protectorate, no easy task, would seem to be beyond the equipment of the author. While these chapters are of interest to students of Protectorate affairs on account of various angles on events which find expression, they can be misleading to persons in search of general information.

The various biographies which form the second section of the work are disappointing. It should be within the author's compass to use his facts, e.g. on Isang and Bathoen, to present a more composite and living picture of these two leaders and their people than in fact he has achieved. The facts are there. The other biographies, while recording some useful facts, and some of doubtful accuracy, wax sometimes too panegyrical.

The book is by no means a failure and is more readable than many a more accurate but heavy historical account. The author has obviously tried to be objective in history and in the description of the present administration. In the latter he has succeeded; in the former only partly, but it is clear that he has tried. The book and the author's endeavour can serve to encourage others to rise above local polemical politics and write of events with the clearer eye of the historian.

R.A.R.B.

A Geography of Ghana. E. A. BOATENG. Cambridge University Press. 1959. pp. 196, maps, illustrations. 21s.

This book is intended for students preparing for the School Certificate Examination and the G.C.E. in West Africa. However, the author hopes that first-year university students and others with more general interests will find it useful as an introductory study. The book is of the general geographic textbook type. It is divided conventionally into three parts; the Land (the physical environment), the Human Response (the chief human activities including population distribution and communications) and the Regional Pattern (a division into 12 regions). A commendable aspect of the book is the way in which the various chapters hang together. So often in textbooks of this kind the systematic chapters read like disparate entities and geographic wholeness is lost. There is a unity about this book which must be derived from the author's long association with and first-hand knowledge of Ghana. Much of the success in the presentation of the facts may be attributed to the excellent maps accompanying the text. Not only are they very well drawn but they are also easily comprehensible and not overloaded with confusing detail. Teachers and students of geography in Ghana are fortunate to have a book of this quality—clearly written and readable—at their disposal. It is, however, disappointing that a final summing up and conclusion is not given.

T.J.D.F.